AENEID VIII
AND THE AITIA OF
CALLIMACHUS

MNEMOSYNE

BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA BATAVA

COLLEGERUNT

W. DEN BOER • W. J. VERDENIUS • R. E. H. WESTENDORP BOERMA

BIBLIOTHECAE FASCICULOS EDENDOS CURAVIT

W. J. VERDENIUS, HOMERUSLAAN 53, ZEIST

SUPPLEMENTUM VICESIMUM SEPTIMUM

EDWARD VINCENT GEORGE

AENEID VIII AND THE AITIA OF CALLIMACHUS

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXIV

AENEID VIII AND THE AITIA OF CALLIMACHUS

BY

EDWARD VINCENT GEORGE

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL, MCMLXXIV

ISBN 90 04 03859 0

Copyright 1974 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands
All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To the Memory of
My Parents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface IX

Introduction 1

I. Speaker and Listener 10

II. Travelers 25

A. Traveler and Inhabitant 28

B. Encounter: Overture and Response 33

C. The Result 35

III. The Hercules-Cacus Myth 43

IV. The Time-Element 71

V. The Dream-Framework 89

Conclusion 105

Appendix I 118

Appendix II 120

Bibliography 123

Indices 125

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1.
Attention to Past, Present, and Future in *Aeneid* 8. . . . 74

TABLE 2.
Major Aition and Historical Catalogue in Callimachus and Vergil . . . . facing 80

TABLE 3.
Temporal Position of Speakers Who Relate Aitia: *Aen.* 8.1-369 86

PREFACE

The following study owes its origin to an idea of Professor Friedrich Solmsen's, and its conclusion in large measure to his patience and encouragement during 1964-1966, when I presented it as my dissertation at the University of Wisconsin. The present version varies little from the original, save for corrections of detail, updated documentation, and rephrasing. Literature subsequent to 1966 has not duplicated or altered the essential thesis—that Vergil consciously reworked and integrated into *Aeneid* 8 a predominantly non-epic poetic form, the aition, in such a way that comparison with Callimachus' *Aitia* will illustrate the later poet's originality. A few concluding notes on recent relevant research are appended. Stanley Shechter's *The Hellenistic Aition in Virgil's Georgics* (diss. Harvard, 1963) would doubtless have added something to the final product. Although I read it while compiling material, I was unfortunately unable to obtain permission to use it.

My further obligations are many. A series of grants received through the University of Wisconsin provided the necessary time. The staff of the University of Wisconsin Memorial Library handled reasonable and unreasonable requests with equal good humor, and Mrs. Terry Cole executed a difficult typing job. The extraordinary generosity of Margaret and Joseph Tomasulo cannot pass unacknowledged. G. Karl Galinsky has kindly read parts of the manuscript and provided criticism which I have always respected, if not always heeded. A Texas Tech University Graduate School grant made publication possible. My wife Cecilia composed the indices, and assisted in the proof preparation. And the publishers have cooperated with meticulous care and great patience.

Citations of the *Aeneid* are from the Sabbadini—Castiglioni edition, and of Callimachus from that of Rudolf Pfeiffer (Oxford, 1949-1953), abbreviated here as "Pfeiffer, *Call.*" Abbreviations of periodicals follow those of J. Marouzeau, ed., *L'Année Philologique.*

INTRODUCTION

The past two decades have favored us with a number of essays toward filling the need for a detailed commentary on *Aeneid* 8. Heinze did not treat that book with anything approaching the attention he gave, let us say, book 2. Prior to 1959, Warde Fowler's collection of observations[1] and Bömer's more scholarly wartime study[2] were our most complete specialized discussions of the subject.

"The eighth book", says Fowler in his introduction, "consists, not of a single story, but of a succession of scenes passing happily and naturally into one another."[3] His commentary, consisting of a series of isolated remarks on separate passages, reflects this view. Bömer faces the problem of unity in the book, and speaks of an interplay between "Episoden" and "Einheit" rather than a choice of one or the other. In the dynamics of this interplay, he believes, the book comes to a climax in the scene (520-540) of the shield-descent, where the dominating theme of Aeneas' being called by fate is vividly expressed.[4]

Otis goes beyond Bömer, with an analysis that formulates the past-present-future relationships of the book into a five-part structure.[5] Hercules as a *theios-anēr* becomes a symbol of Aeneas and Augustus, and "The three *theoi-andres* are set within three separate eras"; that of Arcadian Rome, that of the Latin War, and that of the first century.[6] Symbolism is pursued further in three other studies devoted mainly to the Hercules-Cacus episode. Schnepf, relying on indications of Hercules-Augustus connections in Horace and at the end of *Aeneid* 6, makes the conqueror of Cacus a symbol of Augustus.[7] Buchheit takes the battle with the cattle thief as representative of the struggle of Jupiter and

---

[1] W. Warde Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (Oxford, 1918).

[2] Franz Bömer, "Studien zum VIII Buch der Aeneis," RhM, 92 (1944), pp. 319-369.

[3] Fowler, p. 1.

[4] Bömer, pp. 326, 338.

[5] Brooks Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1964), p. 330.

[6] Ibid., p. 331.

[7] Hermann Schnepf, "Das Herculesabenteuer in Virgilis Aeneis", *Gymnasium*, 66 (1959), pp. 250-268.

Aeneas against Juno and Turnus.[1] Study of the "function" of the episode in Galinsky's article leads to a close tying of Cacus and Turnus through images including "dark fire" and stone.[2] Galinsky follows Duckworth and Otis in complementing his analysis of the episode with a suggested tripartite structure for the whole book.[3] Finally, Putnam also emphasizes the importance of the past-present-future complex of the book, and makes especially good use of verbal and imagistic parallels to book 6 in studying the poetry of the eighth book.[4]

Much has been gained since Fowler's remark. We have been made aware of the symbolic possibilities in Vergil's poetry. We have learned more about internal verbal parallels in the *Aeneid*. And we have a better view of the nature of the unity of book 8. Yet there is one untreated aspect of the book which must be dealt with before Vergil's poetic achievement can be properly understood.

Scholars have argued that the Hercules-Cacus episode is not to be taken simply as an "Aitiologie" or a "Gründungssage."[5] Their warning is necessary, of course, because the form of an aition is just what the Hercules-Cacus story offers. We are familiar with aitia from Hesiod, Callimachus, Apollonius, and among Vergil's contemporaries Propertius and Ovid, as well as other poets. An aition, as we are using the term here, is a description of something familiar to the reader in terms of a less familiar origin. The aition may be as long as the Hercules-Cacus episode or longer; and it may extend only a few lines, as does that for Pallanteum (*Aen.* 8.51-54). The "something" (which for want of a term we shall call the aition-subject) may be a custom, a rite, a geographical formation, or anything else.[6]

---

[1] Vinzenz Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms*, Gymnasium Beiheft 3 (Heidelberg, 1963), pp. 116-133.

[2] G. Karl Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* 8," AJPh, 87 (1966), pp. 18-51; cf. esp. pp. 26, 30ff.

[3] Cf. George E. Duckworth, "Tripartite Structure in the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius*, 7 (1961), pp. 2-11, and Galinsky, p. 22.

[4] Michael C. J. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 101-150. See now also Gerhard Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus: Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis* (Meisenheim, 1971: Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie, Heft 38) and Appendix 2 below.

[5] Buchheit, p. 116; Schnepf, p. 252.

[6] The lack of restriction as to length or subject of aitia is established in the *Aitia* of Callimachus. There, the extensive tale of Akontios and Kydippe (Frs. 67-75) may be contrasted for length to the two-line aition for the name of Minoa in Sicily (Fr. 43.48-49). And subjects whose stories

Using this definition, we may discern the following aitia in *Aeneid* 8:

42-48	The origin of the naming of the city of Alba[1] (from the white sow).
51-54	The origin of the town and the name of Pallanteum (the Arcadians' journey to Italy and memorialization of their *proavus* Pallas).
102-106, 172-305	The origin of the worship of Hercules at the Ara Maxima (the slaying of Cacus on the hero's visit to Latium).
134-142	The genealogical origin of Graeco-Roman affinity.[2]

---

are told include cities (e.g. Zankle, Fr. 43.58ff.), religious rites (Frs. 22-25), the Graces (in a genealogical discussion: cf. Schol. Flor. ad Call. Frs. 3-7, Pfeiffer, Call., (Vol. I, p. 13, lines 30ff.), and statues (Frs. 100, 101), and even a wall (Fr. 97).

[1] If line 46 is genuine, then the passage 42-48 is an aition for the location of Lavinium (cf. *Aen.* 12.194) as well as for the name Alba. But the ms. evidence is not in its favor. Two (MP) of the three (MPR) early manuscripts that include the passage omit the line. In addition, its acceptance means straining the meaning to account for the fact that Lavinium is several miles south of the Tiber.

[2] There are several reasons for including the genealogy through Atlas as one of the aitia of the book.

1) The immediate function of the genealogy, the winning over of Evander, is obvious. But in addition, the passage may be taken as an apology for the prominent presence of the Greek element in the founding of Rome. Such an apology would serve a purpose in the day of Augustus, since an exclusive brand of Roman national patriotism was at the heart of his re-establishment of the Republic. See Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 440-441. Elsewhere in the Aeneid, this exclusiveness, especially in relation to the Greeks, is brought into focus, as in the famous *Excudent alii* passage (6.847-853) and at 2.65f. and 9.602.

So interpreted, the genealogy refers, as an aition must, to the origins of a phenomenon accessible to the poet's reader, namely the Augustan Roman state. It reconciles Arcadianism in the origins with the abiding theme of Roman nationalism, and it authenticates the Arcadian contribution of the virtue of simplicity as detailed by Vergil.

2) The genealogy opens with a reference to Dardanus specifically as κτίστης, the founder of Asian Troy, and hence a counterpart of the κτίστης Aeneas. In this it recalls the form and function of the aitia in Tiber's dream (42ff., 51ff.).

3) The orientation of the genealogy toward an abiding result is one of the principal departures from Vergil's Homeric model (*Il.* 20.213ff.), in

322f.	The origin of the name Latium (the hiding of Saturn).
328f.	The origin of the name Ausonia (from former inhabitants of the land) and of an indeterminate number of other names for Latium (*saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus*, 329).
330-332	The origin of the name of the Tiber (from king Thybris).
337-341	Origin of the name of the Porta Carmentalis (after Carmentis, the mother of Evander).

---

which Aeneas recalls his genealogy merely to impress Achilles prior to a duel.

4) Genealogy recurs in Callimachus' *Aitia*; see the story of the origin of the Graces (supra, p. 2, n. 6), and the love-tale with which the history of the Akontiadai begins (Frs. 67-75). In the latter, there are several circumstances parallel to those of our passage, and they are expressed in Apollo's dream-address to the father of Kydippe:

> Ἀρτέμιδος τῇ παιδὶ γάμον βαρὺς ὅρκος ἐνικλᾷ·
> Λύγδαμιν οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ τῆμος ἔκηδε κάσις
> οὐδ' ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ θρύ̣ο̣ν̣ ἔπλεκεν οὐδ' ἀπὸ θήρης
> ἔκλυζεν ποταμῷ γύ̣ματα Παρθενίῳ,
> Δήλῳ δ' ἦν ἐπίδημος, Ἀκόντιον ὁππότε σὴ παῖς
> ὤμοσεν, οὐκ ἄλλον, νυμφίον ἐξέμεναι.
> ὦ̣ Κ̣ῆ̣υξ, ἀλλ' ἤν με θέλῃς συμφράδμονα θέσθαι,
> . .]ν. . τελευτήσεις ὅρκια θυγατέρος·
> ἀργύρῳ οὐ μόλιβον γὰρ Ἀκόντιον, ἀλλὰ φαεινῷ
> ἤλεκτρον χρυσῷ φημί σε μειξέμεναι.
> Κοδρείδης σύ γ' ἄ̣γ̣ω̣θεν ὁ πενθερός, αὐτὰρ ὁ Κεῖος
> γαμβρὸς Ἀρισταίου [Ζη]ν̣ὸς ἀφ' ἱερέων
> Ἰκμίου οἷ̣σ̣ι̣ μέμ[η]λεν ἐπ' οὔρεος ἀμβώνεσσιν
> πρηΰ̣νειν χαλ[ε]πὴν Μαῖραν ἀνερχομένην,
> αἰτεῖσθαι τὸ δ' ἄημα παραὶ Διὸς ᾧ τ̣ε̣ θαμεινοί
> πλήσσονται λινέ̣αις ὄρτυγες ἐν νεφέλαις.

(Call. Fr. 75.22-37)

Apollo couples a decree of fate (Fr. 75.22-27) with a quieting of his hearer's apprehensions about following the decree. The god uses a pair of genealogies (28-37) separated by an adversative conjunction (αὐτὰρ, 32) to reassure Kydippe's father. In Vergil, Aeneas announces that fate has brought him to Evander (127-133), and goes on to show through a genealogy (134-142) that Evander's compliance with fate would not be unnatural despite the latter's nationality. Again the two genealogies are linked with an adversative (*at*, 140). Our purpose is not to suggest a direct connection between these passages in the *Aitia* and the *Aeneid*, but to show that Vergil's use of a genealogy here is paralleled in the working out of a Callimachean aetiology. In both cases, a genealogy is employed to encourage cooperation with irresistible destiny.

342f.	The origin of the application of the name Asylum (its bestowal by Romulus)
343f.	The origin of the name of the Lupercal (its connection with Pan).
345f.	The origin of the name Argiletum (its connection with the death of Argus).
347-354	The origin of reverence for the holiness of the Capitoline hill (the Arcadians' sensing of a divine presence on the hill).
355-358	The origin of the names Janiculum and Saturnia as given to those two places respectively (the building of fortresses there by Janus and Saturn).
597-602	The origin of the sacredness of the grove by the stream of Caere (its dedication by the Pelasgi, the first inhabitants of the *finis Latinos*, to Silvanus). [1]

Aitia are strung out through the rest of the *Aeneid* (cf. e.g. 3.335, 4.624ff., 5.117, 121, 122-123, 568, 602, 718, 7.1ff., etc.); but nowhere are they clustered as they are in the first half of book 8. On this account it is all the more surprising that for all the occasions on which the Hercules tale has been called an aition, the presence in numbers of other aitia nearby does not seem to have been pointed out. [2]

[1] It is quite possible that, in addition to the aitia listed, Aeneas' reply to Tiber contains an aition for later worship of the River (cf. 8.76 *semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis*). This is especially likely in view of parallels of expression to the known aition for the Ara Maxima rites —cf. *novamus honores,* 8.189, and the repeated *semper* at 271-272). But the lines seem to refer to no later rite with which we are familiar. Also, the description of the Aventine at 8.235, *dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum,* has been taken as an implicit aition for the slope's name. See S. Mariotti, *Il "Bellum Poenicum" e l'arte di Nevio* (Rome, 1966), p. 36, n. 40.

[2] Lucia Bozzi (*Ideali e correnti letterarie nell' Eneide*, Milan, 1936, pp. 167 ff.) has commented on Virgil's use of aitia with its implication of Alexandrian influence; but her study devotes no special attention to the peculiarity of book 8.

The localized aition of the type found in *Aeneid* 8 appears to be a form of expression adopted from the Hellenistic poets, and from Callimachus in particular.[1] Elegy la of Propertius' Book Four closes as follows:

> Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona:
>   mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua,
> ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Umbria libris,
>   Umbria Romani patria Callimachi!
> scandentis quisquis cernit de vallibus arces, 65
>   ingenio muros aestimet ille meo!
> Roma, fave, tibi surgit opus, date candida cives
>   omina, et inceptis dextera cantet avis! 68
> dicam: "Troia, cades, et Troica Roma resurges;" 87
>   et maris et terrae longa sepulcra canam; 88
> sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum: 69
>   has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus.[2] 70

Ovid's *Fasti* also shows the influence of the *Aitia* of Callimachus. [3] The Alexandrian's poem was famous at Rome for reasons other than its aetiological content as well; Wimmel's recent study traces the profound effect of the programmatic Prologue to the *Aitia* on subsequent Latin, and especially Augustan, poetry.[4]

---

[1] Callimachus' *Aitia* achieves variety by its constant shift of attention to famous or remote geographical locations. The Alexandrian libraries provided the sources whence these numerous places could be discussed in the poem.

Doubtless Callimachus consulted a wealth of local histories such as that of Xenomedes of Keos, whose name is incorporated into the work itself (Fr. 75.53ff.).

[2] Cf. W. A. Camps' comment (ed. Sex. Propertius, *Elegies, Book IV*, Cambridge, 1965) on line 64, which is taken to refer to the *Aitia* of Callimachus. In addition to Camps' arguments ad loc. for the transposition of lines 87-88, we may note that Elegy 4.1a is already closely related to *Aeneid* 8. Cf. for example 1.1-2 and *Aen.* 8.99; 1.4 and *Aen.* 8.360-361; 1.6 and *Aen.* 8.362-363; and the shared use of a conversation between native and visitor. The presence of line 87 in *Elegy* 4.1a would add another parallel; cf. Aen. 8.36-37, where Tiber greets Aeneas: "*O sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem/qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergama servas . . .*"

[3] Cf. P. Ovidius Naso, *Die Fasten*, ed. Fr. Bömer, Heidelberg, 1957, Vol. I, pp. 12, 25.

[4] Walter Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom: Die Nachfolge seines apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit*, Hermes Einzelschriften No. 16 (Wiesbaden, 1960). Note his remark (cf. Vorwort) that the influence of Callimachean aitia could be traced as he was tracing that of the Prologue of the *Aitia*.

From these indications we may safely conclude that Callimachus' *Aitia* was an important piece in the body of Alexandrian tradition from which the Augustans drew their inspiration: Propertius' Book Four, Elegies 1 and 9, reflect Vergil's work in *Aeneid* 8 in many other respects; it seems most reasonable to test the assumption that the two Augustans shared Callimachean influence as well.[1]

When we turn to the *Aitia* itself and compare it to *Aen.* 8.1-369, we discover several *prima facie* parallels that invite closer investigation. Each of the two works offers a rich succession of aitia told in conversation, in which the speakers and the listeners play prominent parts. Each includes several instances in which the aition-producing action is an encounter experienced by a traveler in a foreign land. Each pays generous attention to religious rites and name-origins. Hercules looms large in each, and appears in both poets amid similar circumstances. And a dream bears significantly upon each of the two works.

Our approach will be comparative. Where there are clearly-defined and specific similarities of form, we shall be able to speak in detail of Vergil's advances or differences relative to Callimachus. But significant observations on general approach, where these contrast in the poets, will also be fruitful, mainly because of the dominant position the *Aitia* appears to have held in the first century. If Propertius accepted Callimachus' aitia as the standard for the aition-form, then it is likely that Vergil referred to Callimachus in composing *Aen.* 8.1-369 and that he anticipated a knowledge of the *Aitia* among his audience. [2]

Before we go on, a word about the requirements of the aition-form will help us to see why Vergil chose it for this part of the *Aeneid* in particular.

---

[1] Servius ad *Aen.* 7.778 traces the Vergilian aition for the exclusion of horses from the grove and temple of Arician Diana to Callimachus' *Aitia*, (Cf. Call. Fr. 190).

[2] For a clear echo to Callimachus later in book 8, noted by E. Cahen (ed. Callimaque, *Hymnes*, etc., Paris, 1922, p. 51) see the references to Vulcan's journey to the Island of the Cyclopes in Vergil, with parallels in Artemis' journey in Call. *Dian.*:

	Aen. 8.	*Dian.*
the land of the Sicanians	416	57
Lipare	417	47
the reverberating of Aetna	419	56-57
Brontes and Steropes	425	68, 75
making of an implement for a god	427-428, 433-434	50

The contrast between accessibility of the resulting phenomenon and the comparative remoteness of the aition-story is essential. The author of *Anth. Pal.* 7.42 makes this clear in his praise of the *Aitia*:

῏Α μέγα Βαττιάδαο σοφοῦ περίπυστον ὄνειαρ,
  ἦ ῥ ἐτεὸν κεράων, οὐδ' ἐλέφαντος ἔης.
τοῖα γὰρ ἄμμιν ἔφηνας, ἅτ' οὐ πάρος ἀνέρες ἴδμεν,
  ἀμφί τε ἀθανάτους, ἀμφί τε ἡμιθέους,
εὖτέ μιν ἐκ Λιβύης ἀναείρας εἰς Ἑλικῶνα
  ἤγαγες ἐν μέσσαις Πιερίδεσσι φέρων·
αἱ δέ οἱ εἰρομένῳ ἀμφ' ὠγυγίων ἡρώων
  Αἴτια καὶ μακάρων εἶρον ἀμειβόμεναι.

He is saying, among other things, that the revelations of the *Aitia* throw genuine light on the heroes and gods with whom he, the reader of the *Aitia*, is familiar. The framework of the first two books of the *Aitia*, consisting of an interview between poet and Muses, shows how the motive force of the interview is Callimachus' personal curiosity; in other words, the interest of this part of the *Aitia* is built around the tension between the things the poet knows and the origin of them, which he is eager to discover. [1]

The aitia of the *Argonautica*, to choose another example, are likewise given their immediacy by their connection with phenomena familiar to the reader. Of the many instances available, two will be cited; the story of how Orpheus charmed the wild oaks of Thracian Zone, with the result that they can be seen in the poet's day standing in orderly rows (*Arg.* 1.28); and the tale of the nymphs who wept over the dead Kleite, whence came the fountain, presumably known to the poet's audience, called Kleite (*Arg.* 1.1063ff.) [2]

The principle applies to *Aeneid* 8 as well. The Hercules-Cacus story gathers much of its impact from the fact that the Augustan

---

[1] On the structure of the *Aitia* cf. infra, the following chapter, n. 4. The chapter on Callimachus (pp. 69-123) in A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg, 1965) gives a careful analysis of the details of C.'s poetic initiation experience.

[2] For similar instances cf. the origin of the springs of Dindymon (*Arg.* 1.1146-1149), the origin of the ritual contemporary to the poet in which the Kianoi inquire after Herakles' son Hylas (*Arg.* 1.1348ff.), the cause of the time of the Etesian winds and of the sacrifice at Keos before the rising of the Dog-Star (*Arg.* 2.500ff.), and the origin of the name of the Kallichoros River (2.901ff.).

reader knows first-hand the Ara Maxima celebration, and from the familiarity of the scene of the triumph. Names such as Argiletum, Asylum, Lupercal are calculated to evoke familiar associations with modern Rome. Others, such as Alba and Pallanteum, though connected with bygone ages, are nonetheless familiar names to the Augustans. The intention behind the aitia is the same as the rather explicit intention of lines 97-100, in which the Trojans reach Pallanteum:

> Sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem,
> cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
> tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo
> aequavit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat . . .

Nunc and *tum*; the aition is a well-suited vehicle for contrasting and relating them.

CHAPTER ONE

SPEAKER AND LISTENER

No advertence to the narrator or the listener is necessary in the telling of an aition, as Apollonius' *Argonautica* illustrates. There the origin-stories are found in abundance in straight-narrative fashion. Zetes and Kalais, for example (II.256ff.), pursue the Harpies until Iris swears that the obnoxious bird-women will annoy Phineos no more. At that point the pursuers turn back; hence the islands at which they gave up the chase are known as the Strophades. Similarly, in I.1067-69 the hanging of Kleite is described; the tears shed over her by nymphs, it is then remarked, formed the fountain called Kleite. In these and other instances from the *Argonautica*, all the emphasis is on the story itself, none on the act of telling it.

It is also possible to recess the aition into an artistic setting in which either the narrator or the listener, or both, are brought into the picture, and the act of telling is made to contribute to the overall effect. A delightful instance is Ovid's recounting (*Met.* I.689ff.) of how Mercury lulled the many-eyed monster Argus to sleep by telling him how the reed-pipe came to be invented. Slumber overtakes Argos before the story is over. The poet takes a moment to let us know how the tale ends, then goes back to the mountaintop scene in which the god slays his outsmarted adversary.

Variations on the latter approach occur freely in Callimachus' *Aitia*. The poem opens and closes with references to Hesiod's encounter with the Muses; and secondary references suggest that included in, or constituting, the *Aitia* was a dream in which Callimachus was wafted from Libya to Helicon, where he and the Muses held conversation.[1] The aetiologies that come out of their talks, many of them on obscure subjects, are presented in a spirit conso-

[1] Cf. supra, Introduction, p. 8.
Cf. also PSI 1219 (II/III cent. A.D.); Pfeiffer, *Call.*, Vol. II, p. xviii, and the following citation at I.11:

[.......
ὡς κ]ατ' ὄναρ σ(υμ)μείξας ταῖς Μούσ[αις ἐν Ἑ-
λι]κῶνι εἰλήφοι π(αρ' α)ὐτ(ῶν) τ(ὴν) τ(ῶν) αἰτίων [ἐξήγη-
σιν ἀ]ρτιγένειος ὤν, ωκν'ῦεμνησε
. . . .ἀ]π' αὐτ(ῶν) ἀρχή[ν] λαβών, κτλ.

nant with this portrayal of a privileged poet who has been "let in on" a series of esoteric secrets, and who deigns to pass these disclosures on to others.

Several fragments, though too brief to convey feeling, attest to the free use of a question-and-answer style in the telling of the stories. In Fr. 3 we have preserved the question alone; in Fr. 31b an unidentified questioner (in the first person, hence presumably the poet) continues to interrogate another unidentified person. Fr. 76 is similar to this last; and Frs. 86-87 contain a direct address to "Muses" by a single person. [1]

Two longer fragments tell us more about what is probably going on in the four mentioned above. Fr. 43 describes an animated and informal chat between the poet and two Muses. Callimachus asks them (ll.46-55) why the founders of Zankle are not ritually invoked by name. The transition from his words to Klio's is one of the most remarkable examples of familiar references to deities in the preserved portions of the *Aitia*:

> ὥς ἐφάμην· Κλειὼ δὲ τ̣ὸ̣ [δ]εύτε̣ρον ἤρχ[ετο μ]ύθου
> χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἀδελφειῆς ὤμοṿ ἐρεισαμένη·
> 'λαὸς ὁ μὲν Κύμης ὁ δὲ Χαλκίδος, ὃν Περιήρης
>
> (Fr. 43.56-58)

Klio then goes on to answer Callimachus' question, referring to the legendary quarrel between Perieres and Krataimenes. She concludes her story, and the poet continues:

> ὣ[ς] ἡ μὲν λίπε μῦθον, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ [τὸ πυ]θέσθαι
> ἤ]θελον—ἦ γάρ μοι θάμβος ὑπετρέφ[ετ]ọ—,
> Κ]ισσούσης παρ' ὕδωρ Θεοδαίσια Κρῆ̣[σσαν ἑ]ọρτὴν
> ἡ] π̣όλις ἡ Κάδμου κῶς 'Αλίαρτος ἄγ[ει
>
> (Fr. 43.84-87)

---

[1] Cf. Frs. 3, 31b, 76, 86.

> . . . .].τ̣α [. . . . .] . . κῶς ἄṿ[ις αὐλῶν
> ῥέζειν καὶ στεφέων εὔαδε τῷ Παρίῳ
>
> (Fr. 3)
>
> τὼ]ς̣ μὲν ἔφη· τὰς δ' εἶθαρ ἐμὸς πάλιν εἴρ̣ετο θυμός
>
> (Fr. 31b)
>
> Ε̣ἴ̣π̣' ἄ̣γε̣ μο̣ι̣ . . . . α̣ἴ̣ῆγι̣ς̣
> εσ̣τισ̣ε Πισα̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ Ζηνὸς ο̣πισπ̣ . . . ῖ̣θ̣ηṿ
> ἀλλ' ῑ̣ . . ṿης̣ κρο̣υ̣τοναι̣κ̣.υ̣. . . . .ο̣ς
>
> (Fr. 76)
>
> Μοῦ]σαί μοι βασιλη[ἀεί]δειν
>
> (Fr. 86)

The exchanges in Fr. 43 are similar to that in 7.19ff., where Kalliope's comments on the Anaphaian and Lindian sacrifices are introduced by a question from the poet:

κῶς δέ, θεαί̣, [. . .] μὲν ἀνὴρ 'Αναφαῖος ἐπ' αἰσ[χροῖς
ἡ δ' ἐ̣π̣ὶ̣ δ̣υ̣[σφήμοις] Λίνδος ἄγει θυσίην,

η. . . τηνε[. . . . . .τ]ὸν 'Ηρακλῆα σεβίζῃ;
. . . .επιχ̣ .[. . . .]ως ἤρχετο Καλλιόπη·
'Αἰ⌋γλήτην ⌊'Ανά⌋φην τε, Λακωνίδι γείτονα Θ⌊ήρῃ, (Fr. 7.19-23)

In both these fragments the information imparted is of the out-of-the way type; the form of the poem is mock-scientific; the excitement raised by the poet is based largely on the dramatic assumption that unheard things are now being first divulged to men in the sacred presence of Muses. We may surmise that the questions found in Frs. 3, 31b, 76 and 86-87 are put by the poet to divine sources of wisdom with similar dramatic aims in mind. Thus the interest of the aetiology resides as much in this spectacular way of lifting the veil from the unknown past as it does in the inherent interest of the stories told.

A remark may be made concerning the poet's own position in the world of his dream-revelation game. Unlike the poet of the *Argonautica,* who is merely a non-participating observer and recorder, Callimachus makes himself more explicitly indispensable to his own scheme. He must have his dream; his audience must have him, to whom the Muses will talk, through whom others may gather the information given. We shall presently say something concerning the similar yet contrasting situation in *Aen.* 8.1-369.

Though the dream-revelation appears to cover a good portion of the *Aitia,* we are uncertain of the extent to which it determines the shape of the whole work. Certain sections seem incompatible with its outline, notably the cases in which inanimate objects speak for themselves.[1] Research on the structure of the *Aitia* has tended to support the view that there is no overall structure.[2]

---

[1] Simonides' corpse (Fr. 64), the Pelasgian wall (Fr. 97), the lock of Berenike (Fr. 110), and the Delian statue of Apollo (Fr. 114) all tell their own stories.

[2] Cf. esp. Pfeiffer, *Call.*, Vol. II., pp. xxxiv-xxxvi and A. Swiderek, "La structure des *Aitia* de Callimaque à la lumière des nouvelles découvertes papyrologiques", *Journal of Juristic Papyrology,* 5 (1951), pp. 229-235. For arguments favoring the inclusion of all four books in the dream-structure, cf. Hans Herter in Bursian, *Jahresbericht,* Bd. 255, 1937, p. 130.

Yet even where the Muse-conversation does not set the pattern, the poet interjects his own person prominently on several occasions. He interviews the Delian statue of Apollo (Fr. 114) and a stranger traveling in Egypt (Fr. 178), and now and then employs an epic-style direct address of the characters in his stories. [1]

The material reviewed so far should illustrate how Callimachus in the *Aitia* placed himself in a prominent position dramatically, and in much of the work used dialogue to portray himself as both hearer of the Muses and combination oracle-scientist to his readers. Much of the interest aroused by his artistic approach in the Muse-conversations lies in the composition of his work as a learned report in poetry by a learned and favored man to an uninitiated audience.

As in the *Aitia*, the hearer of the aetiologies in *Aen.* 8.1-369, Aeneas, is moved right into the framework of the poem. He, like Callimachus, is described as listening to the words of divine and human informants (Tiber, Evander). But the relating of the aetiologies differs vastly in intention from that in the *Aitia*, and this is indicated by the difference in use of dialogue. Tiber, who tells the first two aitia, appears unbidden in a dream (26-67) to deliver his message of welcome and advice to Aeneas, with whom there is no give and take as there was in Callimachus' *somnium*. A response by Aeneas follows the dream (68-78); then his own words are recorded twice more between 68 and 174 (117-120, 127-151), both times in expression of his concern for the immediate practical necessity of getting an Arcadian alliance. But from 175 to 369, the lines in which most of the aetiologies are found, though most of Evander's words and actions are directed to Aeneas, not a spoken word of the Trojan hero is recorded except once in an indirect way (*exquiritque auditque virum monumenta priorum*, 312). At 366-369 Aeneas and Evander bed down for the night without any concluding reference to Aeneas' impressions. A far cry from the several situations in the *Aitia* in which the poet insistently questions his informants to gather his material, and registers relish and increased curiosity at getting his stories.

But this does not mean that Aeneas is less important to the telling of the aetiologies in *Aen.* 8 than the poet of the *Aitia* is to the dramatic setting of his own aetiologies. On the contrary,

---

[1] Cf. Frs. 65, 66, 75.44ff., 78, 80.10-11, 85.3ff., 100, 102, 103.

the substance of Evander's remarks is significant mainly because the events he tells of are leading to the arrival of Aeneas. The aitia he has to relate take on meaning by reason of their merging oft into the great aition which is the subject of the whole *Aeneid*, the story of the origin of Rome. And the revelation given Aeneas through Evander is part of the growth of the hero's awareness of the dimensions of his own mission. And so each of the two listeners, Callimachus and Aeneas, is essential to the scheme of the work in which he appears. What, then, does the loquaciousness of the Alexandrian tell us when contrasted with the silence of the Trojan?

The easiest answer, perhaps, is that genuine awe is thus expressed in Vergil, with the use of silence appropriate to one's arrival on holy ground, in comparison to the impression of easy familiarity with *res divinae* which Callimachus wishes to put across.[1] This much is doubtless true; but perhaps there is more to the technical difference than that. Callimachus' dramatic position as a privileged transmitter and receiver of recondite information sets him off sharply from his audience. His good-natured presumption in displaying his learning to the Muses in Fr. 43[2] even suggests that he means to be imagined as more akin to his lofty informants than to his lowly hearers. What we know of Callimachus the hater of the well-beaten path coincides comfortably with such a view of his place in the *Aitia*.[3] The regular intrusion of the poet's person-

---

[1] See now W. Heilmann, "Aeneas und Euander im achten Buch der Aeneis", *Gymnasium* 78 (1971), esp. p. 86, on Aeneas' silence, and F. Klingner, *Virgil*: *Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis* (Stuttgart, 1967), p. 533, on the holiness of Latium. Appendix 2 below comments further on Heilmann.

[2] In Fr. 43.46ff., the poet speaks as follows: (Cf. supra, p. 11)

οἶδα Γέλ⌊α⌋ ποταμο⌊ῦ⌋ κεφαλ⌊ῇ ἔπι κείμενον⌋ ἄστ⌊υ
  Λινδόθεν ἀρχαίῃ [σ]κιμπ[τόμενο]ν γενε[ῇ,
Μινῴη[ν] καὶ Κρῆσ[σ]αν, ἵ[να ζείον]τα λοετ[ρὰ
  χεῦαν ἐ[π'] Εὐρώπης υἱέϊ Κ[ωκαλί]δες·
  οἶδα Λεοντίνους δεδρα[ ]. . . . .[
  καὶ Μεγαρεῖς ἕτερ[οι] τοὺς ἀ[πέ]νασσαν ἐκεῖ
Νισαῖοι Μεγαρῆες, ἔχω δ' Εὔβοιαν ἐνισπε[ῖν
  φίλατο κα[ὶ] κεστ[ο]ῦ [δ]εσπότ[ι]ς ἥν Ἔρυκα·

[3] Cf. esp. *Aitia*, Prol., 21ff., where the poet says:

καὶ γὰρ ὅτ⌋ε πρ⌊ώ⌋τιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
  γούνασι⌋ν, Ἀ[πό]λλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος·
' . . . .] . . .ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον
  θρέψαι, τὴ]ν Μοῦσαν δ' ὠγαθὲ λεπταλέην·
πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ' ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι
  τὰ στείβε⌋ιν, κτλ.

ality, frequently through direct quotations, helps us maintain our awareness that the poet is one who knows, and his audience is ignorant.

In the first part of *Aen.* 8, these roles are reversed; it is the poet's audience who knows, and the listener, Aeneas, who does not. The revelation to Aeneas is a revelation of intimations, suggestions, dimly-perceptible signs of a past whose holiness is acknowledged but uncomprehended by the players in the arrival-scene, and whose significance for the future can only be guessed. Vergil's Augustan reader, however, is aware in explicit detail of the glorious empire which is to rise from these shadowy beginnings. He hears the words of Tiber and Evander, and is provoked to fill in the missing details with his imagination. Aeneas, then, assumes anything but a position of authority. He is not active, as was the insistent interrogator Callimachus, but passive in a radical sense, undergoing a first exposure to the holy Rome with which the reader is already well acquainted. Aeneas is focal, yet silent. These two characteristics combined result in a dramatic vacuum, into which the reader is drawn not simply to take the place of Aeneas, but even to feel that, knowing more than Aeneas knows, he is experiencing all that Aeneas experiences and more. Aeneas becomes submerged for the time in the reader. Callimachus tells his readers, so to speak, that he has gone where they could not go; and he deigns to let fall for others second-hand things that were imparted to him directly. Vergil has his hero receive the revelation, and by Aeneas' silence along with other means he creates an impression of intense unity between Aeneas and the Roman reader. The reader's reward is not information but experience; not gazing from a distance upon his noble ancestor's introduction to his home, but sharing intimately in the homecoming.

If there are adjustments in the position of the listener in *Aen.* 8.1-369, there should be corresponding adjustments in that of the speaker; and indeed there are. But these are built upon a basic approach in which Vergil parallels Callimachus.

Variety is a keynote of Callimachus' choice of speakers, as it is of the whole *Aitia*. He has deities, humans, and inanimate objects telling stories.[1] Tales are told with emotional involvement by

---

[1] Among deities are the Muses (Fr. 7, Fr. 43, etc.), and Apollo in the form of his statue at Delos (Fr. 114). Berenike's lock (Fr. 110) and the Pelasgian wall (Fr. 97) are among the inanimate objects that narrate.

some narrators, with utter detachment by others.[1] The poet portrays Muses who range in conversation over the breadth of his own knowledge, and a lock of hair that limits its remarks to the subject of its own fate, and a man he met at dinner who knows something of religion in a far-off island.[2] Vergil does not propose to offer such a fascinating kaleidoscope of characters; but in dividing the speaking duties between two informants, he is able to parallel two types of speaker in the *Aitia*.

The most remarkable difference between Tiber and Evander is that the latter is human and the former divine. It occurs to one naturally, then, to compare Tiber as informant with the Muses of the *Aitia* and Evander with the non-divine informants of Callimachus, especially the lock of Berenike and the traveler from Ikos.

Tiber, like the Muses, appears to his hearer in a dream, and like them he displays the superhumanity of his knowledge. But where the Muses display the variety of their information Tiber reveals the depth of his, including as it does some future events. [3] Here there are implications for our description of the fitting of the narrated aetiology to the purposes of the *Aeneid*. The Muses are admirable because of their literacy which outreaches that of a very learned poet. He probes into presumably neglected corners of knowledge; they take his cues, play his game, and follow wherever his questions lead, irrespective of the subject-matter on which their erudition lights. Tiber fails to dazzle us with such gymnastics. He invites contemplation rather than astonishment. He appears *inter populeas frondes* (8.32) as an old man (ibid.), come from the recesses of the land Aeneas is entering, and come to calm further the hero whose anxieties have already given way to sleep (8.35; cf. 30).[4] Where the Muses' divinity is based on their function

---

[1] Cf. the lock (Fr. 110) as a speaker involved in the story told, and the Muses (Fr. 43) as detached observers. Note how Klio's casual attitude is illustrated by the detail of her leaning on her sister-Muse's shoulder (Fr. 43.56-57).

[2] The dinner-guest from Ikos (Fr. 178).

[3] Tiber predicts Aeneas' success despite war-threats (*Aen.* 8.40-41) and the founding of Lavinium and Alba (42-48). (A later chapter will deal with Vergil's use of the time element in his aetiologies in *Aen.* 8.1-369.)

[4] The poet's effort to evoke peacefulness and contemplation is reflected in the slow, spondee-filled line which introduces Tiber's speech: *tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis* (*Aen.* 8.35). The line is repeated from 3.153, where it introduces the dream-revelation received from the Trojan penates, and from 2.775 before Creusa's appearance.

as inspirers, Tiber's is anchored in a tangible, abiding correlative —the river—which makes him one with the land to which the Trojan hero is being introduced.[1] In his presence we are drawn not by his adeptness at satisfying curiosity, but by the subject itself. His divine revealing-power is not offered for its own attractiveness as with Callimachus' Muses, but because it is a means to the unveiling of Rome and Latium. Its breadth is untested. It is exercised only until Aeneas learns what he needs to know (not necessarily what he *wants* to know) at this time, then it is withdrawn.

And in this latter fact another distinction between the Vergilian and the Callimachean portrayal of the divine informer comes into focus. If the speaker's subject is chosen because it is important, it is no longer chosen because the curiosity of the listener happened to be turned in its direction. In the *Aitia*'s Muse-conversation, the principle of selection of topics was the listener's whim. In the *Aeneid* it becomes something stable, concrete, and external, namely the relation of the topic (person or place or rite) discussed to the land of Latium. In this way the selection principle is accommodated to the orientation toward unity which pervades the whole *Aeneid*, and the physical presence of Latium becomes the heart of *Aen.* 8.1-369.

It should be noted further that since it is Tiber and Evander who do the talking about Latium, the speakers supply a momentum which complements the earlier-mentioned passivity of Aeneas, and which creates for the hero, for the time, a direction in which he is to be led.

While the Muses spin their tales with an air of cool detachment, Tiber speaks with a sense of great stake in the things he tells of; this is betrayed in his opening lines.[2] And his own involvement goes hand-in-hand with the significance, even the urgency, of the subject of his communication. But in addition, Vergil's choice

---

[1] Shortly after Tiber identifies himself as the river (*Ego sum, pleno quem flumine cernis . . . , Aen.* 8.62ff.) occurs the ceremony in which Aeneas dips water from the stream with his palms (68ff.). The presence of the water thus turns Aeneas' ritual act into a very intimate communication with the god.

[2] *Aen.* 8.36-38:

> O sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem
> qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergama servas,
> exspectate solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis . . .

of one of the *di indigetes* as speaker means presenting a subject (Latium) with a bond between subject and speaker which in a way is as close as that found in Callimachus' Lock of Berenike (Fr. 110), where the two are identical. The lock tells its own story. It calls up to the reader the familiar sight of its constellational form, and by the very fact of its heavenly location it proclaims the misfortune that has befallen it. Tiber, likewise, *is* the river.[1] He is part of the land whose destiny is being worked out. Callimachus made use of an ingenious device in giving a voice to an inanimate victim whose material nature makes its plight easily imaginable if not visible. Vergil, in having Tiber speak, creates an opportunity for the land to make a personal overture of welcome; and he so blurs the line between speaker and material subject as to make the former a channel to Aeneas for immediate, personal contact with the latter. Again the effect is orientation of the speaker's revelation toward the land with which the revelation is concerned.

The land itself speaks through Tiber. The inhabitants speak through Evander. A transcendent character has been given Tiber's revelation by its containment in a dream, its proclaimer's rising from the water, and its hints of the future. In the presence of Evander we should expect to be in a more real world, seeing that Aeneas is now awake once again and confronting a fellow-human; and to an extent our expectation is met. Evander's evidence for the Cacus episode, consisting of the sight of what was Cacus' front hall (*Aen.* 8.190ff.) and the king's own credibility as an eyewitness (185-190), are closer to real-life instances of corroboration than the miraculous white sow that stamps Tiber's words as authentic. The Arcadian's account of the episode is that of an eyewitness (cf. esp. 222-23, 262-67). His awareness does not extend into the future, and fails him in certain other areas (such as his hazy notion of the Capitol's holiness—cf. 8.351-354), as we should expect it to fail a human being with his limitations. So far, Evander parallels the lock of the *Aitia* (Fr. 110) as a sub-divine speaker whose words reflect the restrictions of his finite circumstances. For the lock's story expresses the knowledge and affection that are the results of its long, intimate association with its mistress.[2]

---

[1] Cf. esp. *Aen.* 8.62ff., cited supra, p. 17, n.1 and Fowler, op. cit., p. 39.

[2] Cf. esp. Catull. 66.19-20:

Id mea me multis docuit regina querelis,

Yet there are details that conflict with this comparison. They stem from Evander's mysterious knowledge of Roman history all the way back to Saturn, which gives Aeneas a past context in which to view his mission much the same as the shield will give him a future context.[1] And so where Callimachus has given us a speaker whose words reflect completely the circumstances in which the speaker has existed, Vergil offers an unsettling discrepancy in Evander, whose disclosures in some respects are limited to his life as an exiled king, and in others transcend that limit. Each of these disparate elements, however, serves a poetic purpose. The Arcadian's limitations serve the purpose of making his revelations a "chiaroscuro" transmission, in agreement with an earlier suggestion (cf. supra, p. 15). The cases in which he surpasses those limitations contribute to a distinctive atmosphere that holds sway from the time Aeneas goes to sleep at 8.26 to his bedding down with Evander at 8.369. (This atmosphere will be discussed in the chapter on The Dream-Framework.)

Three major aspects of the revealing-action in *Aen.* 8.1-369 have been brought out in our comparison; the passivity of the listener, the active role of the speaker, and the subordination of the aetiologies to the phenomena which the aetiologies have affected. It remains to add some remarks on the emotional orientation of the speakers and the listener. Here a conspicuous and significant contrast is observed between the Alexandrian and the Roman.

There are two fragments of the *Aitia* (7, 43) that preserve the end of the poet's inquiry and the opening line of the Muse's reply. In the former of these there is no reference to the Muse's personal attitude toward the poet; she plunges straight into her story (Fr. 7.19-23ff.). In the latter there is pause for the detail of Klio's leaning on her sister-Muse's shoulder (Fr. 43.56-57),

---

invisente novo proelia torva viro.

Also ibid., 25-26:

at te ego certe
cognoram a parva virgine magnanimam.

On Catullus' poem as a faithful translation of Callimachus', cf. H. Herter in RE, Spbd. V. 405.66ff., and C. J. Fordyce, ed., *Catullus* (Oxford, 1961) pp. 328-329.

[1] Perhaps the seer-nymph Carmentis, the king's mother, *cecinit quae prima futuros/Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum* (*Aen.* 8.340-341), can be considered the reason for Evander's clairvoyancy; but as characterized here, she ought to be to him a source of enlightenment for the future rather than the past, if at all.

and this right after the poet's extraordinarily chatty inquiry about the cities of Sicily. The impression conveyed is one of easy rapport, and the Muses' emotional reaction (if it can be called that) at having so august an interlocutor as Callimachus is one of relaxed acceptance. In neither of these cases, it seems, is the subject-matter at hand productive of emotion in poet or Muse so much as is the fact that they have each other to talk to, especially that the poet has the rarely-bestowed opportunity to interview the Muses directly. The situation is seen more clearly when contrasted with that in Fr. 178. There the poet's question and the opening lines of the traveler's reply are found. The poet has asked why the Thessalian Peleus is worshipped at Ikos. The first three lines of the traveler's reply are recorded:

τ[αὖτ'] ἐμέθεν λέξαντο[ς
  'τ⌊ρισ⌋μάκαρ, ἦ παύρων ὄ⌋λβιός ἐσσι μέτα,
ναυτι⌊λίης εἰ νῆιν ἔ⌋χεις βίον·

(Fr. 178.31-33)

The answer is aimed at the poet personally, whereas judging from the preserved words at Fr. 7.23ff. and Fr. 43.58ff. we notice that the Muses' replies could have been spoken to anyone, much the same as the communications from the lock (Fr. 110) and the dead Simonides (Fr. 64), in which no particular listener is even envisioned. [1]

The speaker-listener scenes of *Aen.* 8.1-369 take the form of a highly-charged encounter. The land and its inhabitants, imaginable collectively as the source of Aeneas' information, awaken to action in response to his arrival, and focus their readily-displayed emotions around him.

The river-god is the first to meet the sleeping Trojan, whom the whole land has awaited with anxiety:

"O sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem
qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergama servas,
exspectate solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis . . ."

(8.36-38)

[1] Note also that, in view of the convivial banter with which the poet has interrogated the traveler (Fr. 178.15-22), the lost portion of the reply was probably not calculated to arouse deep emotions. It should be observed further that our remarks here about the lack of emotional tension between speaker and poet in the *Aitia* do not affect what has been said earlier (supra, p. 13) about the poet's importance in his own scheme.

and Tiber's own cordiality culminates in an offer of assistance (57ff.).

Aeneas awakens, prays to Tiber, and discovers the sow, which he sacrifices; then the upriver trip is undertaken (86-101). The journey is the occasion of Tiber's help (86-89) and a confirmation of the land's personal interest in the newly-arrived hero. The waves and woods *mirantur* (91-93) upon seeing the strange craft with their gleaming shields.

Emotion dominates the response of the Arcadians, beginning with the agitation they show at seeing the vessels reach Pallanteum (107ff.). The poet's vocabulary here marks an interruption of the calm that has been building up since line 26 (*terrentur. . .subito. . . consurgunt*, 109-110; *obstipuit. . .percussus nomine Pallas*, 121). Evander's favorable reply to the alliance offer is prompted by the impact that a long-previous visit from Anchises has left on him, as we shall see presently.

The element of intense response to Aeneas' presence is reflected further in the way Evander presses on after the banquet (184ff.) to narrate the Cacus story, feeling it quite important that his guest be apprised of the honesty, the non-superstitious nature of the rite in progress:

> "Non haec sollemnia nobis,
> has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
> vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
> imposuit. . ."
>
> (8.185-88) [1]

This emotional galvanizing of the informants is all the more conspicuous when we turn our attention to Vergil's remarks upon the emotions of Aeneas and his followers, and when we discover how sparse such references are.[2]

Earlier (cf. supra' p 16. n. 4), a reference was made to the nocturnal apparition of the penates directing Aeneas to seek Hesperia (*Aen.*

[1] This instance of Evander's eagerness is one of those in which the speaker can be seen supplying the momentum before the passive, receptive Aeneas. Cf. supra, p. 19.

[2] The simile of the dancing light-beam used to describe Aeneas' uncertainty (8.18-25) and the mention of his sadness (29) precede the dream-vision; hence they do not belong to the speaker-listener relationships being analyzed here, and so will not be included in the following observations on the hero's emotions.

3.147-78). Though the gods' mission was *curas demere* (153), Aeneas' immediate reaction showed that he was anything but reassured:

> "Talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum
> . . . .
> (tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor) . . ."
>
> (3.172,175)

In such a state he offered a prayer and a libation, after which he felt better (*perfecto laetus honore*, 3.178) and repaired to Anchises. Tiber's appearance in book 8, however, results in a much more controlled reaction by the awakening Aeneas:

> Surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis
> lumine rite cavis undam de flumine palmis
> sustinet ac talis effundit ad aethera voces:
>
> (68-70)

He prays to the nymphs of Laurentum and to Tiber himself, and chooses two ships for the river journey. Then there appears the predicted sow—described as a *subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum* (81), despite which the hero's response is made with complete equilibrium:

> Quam (the sow) pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi maxima Juno,
> mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad aram.
>
> (84-85)

And on the voyage itself, the only definite sign of emotional reaction by the Trojans to balance the wonderment of the *undae* and *nemus* (91-92) is the mild adverb *ocius* (101) to describe how the Trojans pulled for shore upon sighting the Arcadian settlement. [1]

The contrast is still evident when we compare Aeneas' alliance request with Evander's acceptance (126-151, 152-174), as schematized below. Evander's reply tells us that by the time he opens his mouth he has made up his mind, for he gives his conclusions immediately (154-55) and his reasons afterward, followed by an indication of the circumstances in which Aeneas is to be received.

[1] The meaning of *rumore secundo* (90) is uncertain. Conington, following Cerda, took it to mean "the cheering of the crews"; cf. also Fowler, op. cit., pp. 46-47. But Heyne's interpretation (after Ti. Donatus) that the sound of the water is referred to is plausible, especially since it would harmonize with the personification of stream and woodland which follows shortly (91-93). Ausonius, *Mos.* 22, supports Heyne.

This is the reverse of what Aeneas did, namely to progress from the circumstances of his coming to the reason (kinship) why he makes his proposal, to the proposal itself. Aeneas' overture is governed by logical method, and spoken simply *dictis amicis* (126); Evander's response is a commitment by instinct. Aeneas' case for an alliance is basically reducible to the demands of the gods and to a stemma. Evander's acceptance is the result of the emotion aroused during the Trojan's speech. The king sees and hears Aeneas; he recalls the face and voice of Anchises. That is all he needs. At the first line after Evander's account of Anchises' visit, (169) we learn that his and Aeneas' hands have already been joined (*iuncta est*)—and the surprising use of the perfect tense indicates that the offering of Evander's hand took place at the time of his opening words (154-155).

126	Intro. of Aeneas' speech
127-133	Circumstances of Aeneas' coming: "I fear not the Arcadian-Achean kinship. My *virtus*, the gods' oracles, our kinship and your fame have brought me to you willingly."
134-145	Reason for Aeneas' making the proposal: "Atlas is the ancestor of us both. Relying on this fact (*his fretus*, 143) I throw myself on your mercy."
146-151	The proposal itself: "The same race menaces us both. Let us unite."
152-154	Intro. of Evander's speech: *Ille os oculosque loquentis/iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus* . . .
154-155	Evander's answer to the proposal: *Ut te, fortissime Teucrum,/accipio adgnoscoque libens!*
155-168	Reason for his answer: *Ut verba parentis/et vocem Anchisae magni voltumque recordor!/Nam* . . . (155-157)
169-174	Circumstances of Aeneas' reception: "Tomorrow I shall make the arrangements. Now, come to join us in this holy banquet."

The banquet follows the agreement. Vergil, though noting that the Arcadian *iuvenes* performed their tasks *certatim* (179), and though taking two lines (182-83) to tell that the Trojans dined, leaves out any reference to the spirit in which they did so.[1]

[1] In 279/80 it is recorded that *Ocius omnes/in mensam laeti libant divosque precantur*; but this reference is to Trojan and Arcadian indiscriminately.

The only substantial exception to deliberate avoidance of mentioning Aeneas' emotional responses explicitly occurs at 310-312, during the passage from the site of the Ara Maxima to Evander's hut:

> Miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum
> Aeneas capiturque locis et singula laetus
> exquiritque auditque . . .
>
> (8.310-12) [1]

The expression balances the application of the verb *mirari* to the river and woods (91-92) and to Evander (161). The poet returns to normal practice at the end of the tour (359-368), where there is no note of Aeneas' concluding reaction, even after Evander's moralizing postscript, *Aude, hospes, contemnere opes* . . . (364-365). Finally, Aeneas being shown his bed for the evening is referred to merely as *ingentem* (367).

To summarize: the extensive use of a speaker-listener framework within which a series of aitia is mounted appears both in Vergil and in Callimachus. The chief differences in Vergil's use of the device are 1) the passivity of the listener (Aeneas), 2) the active role of the speakers (Tiber and Evander, who together with the land tender Aeneas an earnest welcome), and 3) the ordering of the aetiologies toward a description of the land in which they have their effect, rather than around the curiosity of the listener as in the *Aitia*. In this adaptation of the conversational framework, the active role of the speakers is unified and given direction in their emotional attitudes toward the listener; and the sparseness of references to the listener's emotion is part of the process by which the poet makes the hero present yet unobtrusive, receiving the revelation yet submersible in the reader.[2]

---

[1] It has already been noted (supra, p. 13) that line 312 is the only reference to a spoken remark by Aeneas between 175 and 369.

[2] In Chapter IV infra, we shall discuss how in *Aen.* 8. 337-350 the poet describes the Aeneas-Evander encounter from the viewpoint of his own day, and so strengthens the union between Aeneas and the Augustan reader.

CHAPTER TWO

TRAVELERS

Early in the *Aitia*, the poet asks the Muses the following question:

κῶς δέ, θεαί̣, .[. . .] μὲν ἀνὴρ 'Αναφαῖος ἐπ' αἰσ]χροῖς
  ἡ δ' ἐ̣π̣ὶ̣ δ̣υ̣[σφήμοις] Λίνδος ἄγει θυσίην,
η . . . τηνε[. . . . . . τὸ]ν 'Ηρακλῆα σεβίζῃ;

(Fr. 7.19-21)

Kalliope's reply begins as follows:

'Αἰ⌋γλήτην ⌊'Ανά⌋φην τε, Λακωνίδι γείτονα Θ⌊ήρῃ
π]ρῶ̣τ̣[ον ἐνὶ μ]νήμῃ κάτθεο καὶ Μινύας,

(Fr. 7.23f.)

Subsequent fragments relate part of the tale of how the Argonauts and their woman companions, after being led to safety at Anaphe by Apollo, flung jocose insults at each other during their sacrifice to the god; with the permanent result that the Anaphaians of Callimachus' day worship Apollo with insults. The blasphemies in the Lindians' rites to Herakles are then traced to the occasion when the hungerstricken hero was refused sustenance by a local ploughman, whereupon Herakles seized the farmer's ox, slew it, and made it his meal while its owner cursed him unheeded. This story is followed by a doublet encounter between Herakles and the Dryopian peasant Thiodamas, in which the pattern of request for food, refusal, and retribution is followed. [1]

A reading of the other remains of the *Aitia* discloses several more episodes that contain 1) a traveler in distress, or a traveler coming upon distressed people in another country; 2) an encounter between the traveler and the inhabitant or inhabitants; 3) a permanent result which makes the encounter an aition, usually accompanied by more immediate but less permanent results.

The frequency of traveler-situations in aitia should not be surprising. The aition, as noted earlier, depends for its effect

[1] For the Lindian story cf. Call. Frs. 22-23, and for the tale of the Dryopian Frs. 24-25. The following chapter is devoted entirely to the Hercules-Cacus episode. Hence references to that particular aition in this chapter will be abbreviated accordingly, and will be only as detailed as is necessary for the present discussion.

largely on the reader's familiarity with the aition-subject, in combination with the comparative unfamiliarity of the aition-story itself. When a well-known rite, geographical feature, etc., is treated in an aition, it is natural that it should be explained in terms of a former visitor (or the first visitor) to the place where the phenomenon is to be found.

The Callimachean use of the traveler-motive as outlined above is frequent enough to allow us to study its common parts systematically. As the three aitia mentioned above suggest, there are several standard elements into which we may analyze the traveler-distress tale, and which we may compare in the *Aitia* and in *Aen.* 8.1-369.

1. traveler in distress, or inhabitant(s) in distress.
   a) the traveler
      (1) whether kindly-disposed or ill-disposed
      (2) whether powerful or destitute
      (3) reason for his traveling
   b) the inhabitant(s)
      (1) whether kindly-disposed or ill-disposed
      (2) whether powerful or destitute
2. the encounter
   a) the overture—the first advance, by either traveler or inhabitant
   b) the response—by the other party
3. the results
   a) immediate
   b) permanent (what turns the story into an aition)

The stories of the Argonauts and Herakles mentioned above will serve as examples of the type from the *Aitia*. In *Aeneid* 8.1-369 we have at least three travelers whose stories can be shown to agree with the above pattern:

1. Saturn;

> "Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo
> arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exul ademptis.
> Is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
> composuit legesque dedit Latiumque vocari
> maluit, his quoniam tutus latuisset in oris."
>
> (words of Evander; *Aen.* 8.319-323)

2. Evander;

"Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,
qui regem Euandrum comites, qui signa secuti,
delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem
Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum."

(words of Tiber; *Aen.* 8.51-54)

"Me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
his posuere locis matrisque egere tremenda
Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo."

(words of Evander; *Aen.* 8.333-336)

3. Hercules;

"Non haec sollemnia nobis,
has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
imposuit; saevis, hospes Troiane, periclis
servati facimus meritosque novamus honores . . ."

(words of Evander; *Aen.* 8.185-189)

Ut ventum ad sedes, "Haec" inquit "limina victor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit . . ."

(words of Evander; *Aen.* 8.362-363)

Saturn and Evander come to Latium seeking relief; and for their trouble they receive a place of refuge. Hercules comes and bears aid to distressed natives, and is accorded hospitality in return. As for the travelers' connections with phenomena whose aitia are related, Saturn gives Latium its permanent name as well as being the first civilizer of the land.[1] Evander's presence at Rome causes the establishment and naming of Pallanteum, as well as being the factor that links Hercules' visit with the appropriation of his cult by the Romans. And Hercules, of course, is the one whose exploit results in the Ara Maxima rite.

---

[1] Although the civilization of Saturn is portrayed as being interrupted in book 8 by the god's departure and the coming of a *deterior aetas*, there are indications that in book 7 it is considered a continuous phenomenon through to the time of Latinus; note especially that the latter is a direct descendant of Saturn only three generations removed. Cf. *Aen.* 7. 49f., 202-204 and Buchheit, op. cit. (cf. supra, Intro., p. 2), p. 92. The coming of Saturn, then, can be considered an aition for civilization in Latium.

With these introductory remarks, we shall proceed to comment upon the traveler-motive and its parts in the *Aitia* and in *Aeneid* 8.[1]

A. Traveler and Inhabitant

The best description of a traveler in the *Aitia* is found in Fr. 24, which constitutes part of the story of Thiodamas. Herakles' concern for his son, who is starving and suffering from a thorn-wound, is portrayed;

> σκῶλος ἐπεί μιν ἔτυψε ποδὸς θέναρ· αὐτὰρ ὁ πείνῃ
> θυμαίνων λάχνην στήθεος εἷλκε σέθεν
> δραξάμενος· τὶν δ' ὦνα γέλως ἀνεμίσγετο λύπῃ,
> εἰσόκε τοι τρίπολον νειὸν ἀνερχομένῳ . . .
>
> (Fr. 24.1-4)

Thiodamas is then described at his appearance, and Herakles asks:

> . . .]. . .ου ξείνων χαῖρε [. . . . . .] μενων
> . . . . .]η μέγ' ἀρητὲ προσ [. . . . . .]ς, αἶψα δ', ἄνωγα,
> εἴ τι κα]τωμαδίης ο̣ὐ̣λ̣ά̣δ̣[ος ἐστὶ]ν ἔσω
> τόσσο]ν ὅσον τ' ἀπὸ πα[ιδὶ κακὴν β]ούπειναν ἐλά̣[σσαι,
> δός μοι]· καὶ φιλίης [μνήσομ' ἀεὶ δό]σιος.'
>
> (Fr. 24.8-12)

One of the poet's prime preoccupations here is with the emotional state of Herakles. Laughter mixed with sorrow is a comic combination, whose effect depends either on its incongruity or on its pathos. The contrast between Herakles' burly chest and the tiny child who tears at it in frustration points up the temporary helplessness of the hero despite his great strength. Already we have a series of parallels with Saturn, who as a divinity is powerful, who yet for the time of his flight is in a strait, and who will prove his potency once again by bringing civilization to the tree-trunk men. Background material on the two characters brings to light further parallels. Herakles, like Saturn, is a fugitive; he is wanted for the murder of a young wine-bearer in Calydon.[2] And his story, like

[1] It should be noted that, although we know from the Diegeseis and other indications that the Callimachean stories treated here are "traveler-distress" stories, yet the fragmented condition of their actual texts will often prevent our making significant comments on all the elements of all the stories.

[2] Cf. Schol. Laur. A. R. *Arg.* 1.1212, quoted in R. Pfeiffer, *Kallimachos-studien* (Munich, 1922), pp. 79f.

Saturn's, culminates by affecting a whole people; for the angry Thiodamas rallies his fellow-Dryopians to do battle. They lose the struggle with Herakles, who in the end resettles the whole people. [1] Callimachus' *Aitia*, then, contained the suggestion of an exiled traveler of divine origin, powerful yet temporarily at a loss, whose encounter in a foreign land had national repercussions.

The profound difference of approach from Vergil's is signified firstly by Callimachus' choice of circumstances and details. He concentrates attention on the distress of the diminutive son, and shapes the emotions of the hero around the child's plight. The expression γέλως ἀνεμίσγετο λύπῃ illustrates how the situation demands keen sensitivity on the part of Herakles, and how he proves ludicrously incapable of the appropriate delicacy. The stage is thus set, in the portrayal of the traveler, for the encounter in which the issue, the resolution of the baby's hunger and of Herakles' awkward discomfiture, is highly personal. In Vergil personal emotion is either unobserved as in the case of Saturn and Evander, or made simpler and mightier, in the case of Hercules the slayer of Cacus; always it is subservient to the main issue, which is the story of Latium. There is no dramatizing of the traveler's feelings through any small details such as the pulling of the hair on the chest of Herakles. The effect of this difference is visible in *Aen.* 8.333-336, cited above, which describes the coming of Evander. The latter's flight becomes an uncomplicated matter between *ineluctabile fatum* and himself; his journey is thus clearly and quickly definable as part of the grand motion in which fate sees to the founding of the Roman race.

Another difference between the poets is brought out in Callimachus' distinctive practice of closely tying the emotional state of the traveler to the resulting phenomenon. For example, in the doublet of the Thiodamas-story, it is the blithe unconcern of Herakles for his victim's oaths that heightens the violence of those oaths, which are the cause of the permanent blasphemies in the Lindian sacrifice. In explaining the rites which the Parians perform for the Graces without flutes or garlands, the Muses tell how Minos was sacrificing on that island when he heard of the death of his son Androgeos.[2] Minos expressed his grief not by interrupting the ceremony, but by ordering its continuation

[1] Ibid. ad finem.

[2] Cf. Call. *Aitia* Frs. 3-7 and scholia in Pfeiffer's ed.

without flutes or garlands. Here, the traveler's emotion and the resulting phenomenon are not merely inseparable; there is a direct cause-effect relationship between them. Again in the brief aition for the name of Minoa in Sicily, the motive force is the anger of Minos, who in pursuit of Daedalus is said to have been boiled to death by Kokalos at Minoa.[1]

Vergil uses the emotional factor with Hercules in *Aen.* 8 in a spare, vivid way, as we shall see more closely later. He describes the approaching hero's attitude with the single descriptive adjective *superbus* (Aen. 8.202). He has the hero blaze up in sudden fury upon the discovery of the cattle theft (219-221), and shows him driven by emotion to destroy the monstrous rustler. The treatment of Saturn and Evander is remarkably different. The fortunes of each of these persons before his arrival in Latium are nearly ignored, despite the fact that the previous history of each, especially Evander, would afford material to arouse sympathy in the reader; witness Ovid's use of the opportunity with Evander in the *Fasti*.[2] Of Saturn's past career Vergil says simply:

> Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo,
> arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exul ademptis.
>
> (*Aen.* 8.319-320)

His expulsion might provide material for explicitly paralleling the dethroned deity with Aeneas; but Vergil is content to let the parallel be manifested by a verbal echo of 7.217-218, where Ilioneus describes the plight of the Trojans to Latinus in a remark of similar form:

> adferimur, pulsi *regnis*, quae maxuma quondam
> extremo *veniens* Sol aspiciebat *Olympo*.

There is no dwelling, then, on the destitution in which Saturn comes to Latium. The aition is oriented forward to its conclusions, the naming of Latium and the first bringing of civilization to the land.[3]

Vergil's treatment of Evander is similar. The Arcadian king is portrayed in Ovid (*Fasti* 1.462ff.) as a just man who has run afoul of a god; and his plight gives Ovid scope for a 17-line speech

---

[1] Cf. Call. *Aitia*, Fr. 43.48f., and comments in Pfeiffer's ed.
[2] Cf. the comments infra on *Fasti* 1.462ff.
[3] Cf. *Aen.* 8.321-325 and supra, p. 25, n. 1.

by the king's mother Carmentis, who successfully steels her son for the rigors of exile. No such attention is paid to Evander's misfortune in his comments to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 8 on the circumstances of his arrival. The appeal to sympathy is understated in line 333. Evander refers to himself as *pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem*; his condition speaks for itself. The following lines emphasize the power and irresistibility of the divine commands, which were the force that brought him to Latium. Viewing Saturn and Evander together, we may see a repeated pattern in which personal emotion gives place to the great chain of events in which the participants are involved, and the goal and future implications of the journey overshadow the journey itself.

As is the case with travelers in the traveler-motive of the *Aitia*, light on the inhabitants is fragmentary but informative. The contrast of a simple inhabitant with a great traveler recurs, starting with the story of the Lindian peasant who is characterized as:

> τέμνοντα σπορίμην αὔλακα γειομόρον
>
> (Fr. 22.)

The detailed description of the Dryopian in the doublet story as a commonplace yeoman shows even more clearly that Callimachus means to highlight the contrast:

> εἰσόκε τοι τρίπολον νειὸν ἀνερχομένῳ
> ὠμογέρων ἔτι πουλὺς ἀνὴρ ἀβόλησε βοωτέων
> Θει]οδάμας· δεκάπ[ο]υν δ' εἶχεν ἄκαιναν ὅγε,
> ἀμφ⌋ότερον κέντρον τε βοῶ⌊ν⌋ κ̣αὶ μέτρον ἀρούρης·
>
> (Fr. 24.4-7)

Indications of the same type are found in Fr. 54, where the poor Nemean Molorchos jeopardizes his own larder to entertain Herakles properly. Other stories, in which commonplace as well as hapless natives are portrayed, occur in the *Aitia*, though we have scant details of their content. Apollo's arrival when the people of Delphi were terrified by the Python is one instance. Another is the subjection of the people of Temese to the hero left behind of Odysseus' band, who demanded a maiden from the natives as tribute.[1]

The same contrast appears in *Aeneid* 8, being most readily visible in the arrivals of Saturn and Hercules. The latter comes with the

---

[1] Cf. Call. *Aitia* Frs. 86ff., Fr. 98-99, and Diegesis (Pfeiffer, *Call.*, Vol I, p. 103).

capability of saving the local populace from a terrible monster, as do Euthymus of Fr. 98, who ended the Odyssean hero's tribute, Apollo the Python-slayer, and Herakles the guest of Molorchos. This parallel will be dealt with further when we consider Hercules in a later chapter. For now, though, we should note that one recurring element in these three Callimachean monster-slayings is that they all have significance as the means of liberating the monsters' victims. Here in the Hercules-Cacus story this is even more true, as indicated by the structure of the story, which the poet enters into and departs from by way of his description of the rite; a reflection of the fact that it is because Hercules saved the Arcadians that his deed is commemorated, even though it was not to save the Arcadians that the deed was performed.

In the case of Saturn, Vergil employs the traveler-inhabitant contrast intricately. Saturn, like Callimachus' Herakles of Frs. 22-25, is both in a state of forced exile and possessed of power to work out his wishes within limits. Upon arrival he finds the tree-trunk men, savage yet susceptible. The stage is thus set for the celestial reject to institute the society that is to become the model to which Rome is to hark back for inspiration; and while he does so, he saves himself by accepting Latium as his hiding place.[1]

Evander's arrival may seem to fit poorly our pattern for the traveler-motive when first considered; no welcoming inhabitants in the usual sense are referred to. Fortune and fate, he says simply (334), brought him to Latium as he sought out the *pelagi extrema* after being driven from his fatherland. Investigation into what we know of the Evander tradition discloses that he was exiled, because of the anger of some divine being.[2] The important fact for us is that in Latium he found refuge. The poles of the encounter represented by Evander's arrival, then, are not Evander and other people, but Evander and the land.

This last statement is supported by our remarks in the preceding chapter (cf. pp. 20ff.) on how the land behaves as though it were alive in the presence of Aeneas. It is further confirmed when we consider once again the inhabitants in the case of Saturn. The tree-trunk men take us back to a time when there was hardly a

---

[1] One tradition attends to his refuge-taking by having him welcomed by Janus. Cf. Servius ad *Aen.* 8.319.

[2] Cf. Ov. *Fasti* 1.462ff.

distinction between the land and its inhabitants.[1] The latter were not only *duro robore natum*, but *dispersum montibus altis* (321; cf. 315) in addition. The blurring of the land-inhabitant distinction at the arrival of Aeneas, which has been commented upon and which will be mentioned again, thus finds a reflection in the adventures of both Saturn and Evander.

B. Encounter: Overture and Response

The overture is, generally, contained implicitly in the fragments of the Callimachean aitia with which we are concerned here; Fr. 87, for example, referring to the welcome tendered the god by the village of Deipnias, presupposes Apollo's gesture in slaying the Python. And Fr. 57 presupposes that the hospitality mentioned in other sources was shown by Molorchos to Herakles.[2] In these instances, of course, it is uncertain which of the two parties made the first advance. Such is not the case, however, with the story of Herakles and Thiodamas. Here, the description of the Dryopian is followed by Herakles' plea for sustenance, as noted earlier.

In none of the travelers of *Aeneid* 8 does the overture work itself out through a plea by the traveling party. Saturn *composuit legesque dedit*; Evander simply came; Hercules performed his noble deed provoked only by Cacus' theft. Again it is made clear that the emphasis is on what Saturn, Evander, and Hercules had to do with the themes dominating the whole epic. The coming of each is not so much a part of his own story as it is a part of the story of Latium.

The response of the inhabitant in the *Aitia*, where its details are in any measure discernible, is normally one of extending or withholding hospitality. Exceptions are the cases when the natives merely witness the actions of a traveler or travelers and perpetuate these actions, without being called upon to respond within the essentials of the aition itself. The previously-mentioned story of Minos at Paros is one of these exceptions; the people of that island sacrifice to the Graces in the poet's day without flutes and garlands

[1] For the birth of men from trees, cf. Conington and Page on *Aen.* 8.315 against Servius' rationalization of the passage to mean that hollow trees were men's dwellings. Whichever explanation one prefers, the union of human birth with the oak tree in the expression *duro robore nata* contributes to the impression of confusion between land and inhabitants.

[2] Cf. Schol. *Stat.* Th. 4.160 Sacra Cleonaei: "*Herculem . . . Molorchus accepit hospitio . . .*" cited in n. ad Call. *Aitia* Fr. 54 (ed. Pfeiffer).

because that is how their forbears saw Minos conduct the sacrifice. The Anaphaians, in a similar instance, honor Apollo with abusive language because that is how their ancestors saw the Argonauts and their women honor him.

The more usual case is represented in the Lindian and Dryopian doublet-stories and in the tale of Molorchos; in each of these the hospitality or the aloofness of the native determines the course of the story.

In Fr. 87, as in *Aeneid* 8.362-363, the beneficiaries ot a monster-slayer welcome him after his exploit. Callimachus' story is of Apollo at Deipnias after the Python's destruction:

Δειπνιὰς ἔνθεν μιν δειδέχαται

(Fr. 87)

and Hercules' visit to Evander's hut after the slaying of Cacus is described by the Arcadian king:

'Haec' inquit 'limina victor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit;
aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
finge deo rebusque veni non asper egenis.'

(*Aen.* 8.362-365)

In Callimachus' portrayals of Molorchos, the Lindian, the Dryopian, and the inhabitants of Deipnias, only the humblest hospitality is available to the visitors; and what is available is certainly not appropriate for guests of such magnitude. Part of the reason why the Lindian and the Dryopian are such mean characters is that what they refused to proffer to Herakles was so much less than what he deserved.

The case is otherwise with Vergil's Evander and Hercules. The question of the value of a comparatively lowly host's ministrations is dealt with directly when Evander invites Aeneas to his abode in the passage just cited. The traveler-receiver relationship here culminates in such a way that the simple life is referred to explicitly as having a value of its own. The king's statement is a reflection of the implied approval of early Rome's simplicily that Vergil has been giving all along in book 8. The poet has taken the traditional pattern of great traveler meeting humble inhabitant, and has presented its conclusion in such a way that the inhabitant

as well as the traveler is seen as emphatically having something of inherent value to offer. [1]

Elements of the same viewpoint are found in the arrivals of Saturn and of Evander himself also. Saturn came as a great divinity, and Evander as a king; but each came in search of refuge, and neither could have conferred benefit on Latium without success in finding there a haven from persecution.[2] The traveler-motive as employed in describing the arrival of each becomes an account of mutually dependent contributions between traveler and inhabitant.

C. *The Result*

In discussing the traveler, the inhabitant, and the encounter, we have disposed of several aspects of the result. It remains to remark on the relationship of the result to the rest of the aition in Callimachus and in Vergil.

The majority of the stories in the *Aitia* with which we have dealt here—all but the Molorchos story and the Temese maiden-tale (Fr. 98), in fact—are known to have been contained within a speaker-listener framework; the aition-subject, then, is mentioned for the first time in the inquiry, before the telling of the aition. In *Aeneid* 8, the introductory question is missing; the arrivals of Saturn, Evander, and Hercules are recounted in Tiber's and Evander's words to Aeneas; and as we have noted earlier, information that Aeneas receives is in general volunteered by Evander or Tiber, not sought by the Trojan.[3] In Evander's case, this means that the aition for the name of Pallanteum concludes with the permanently known phenomenon—the name itself—rather than beginning with it. The same sequence occurs in the story of Saturn. First he comes, pursued by Jupiter; then he civilizes; then he wishes to call the place Latium because he has safely hidden there. The style of these aitia is more akin to that frequently used by Apollonius, who often narrates events and stops after his narration to turn the events into aitia.[4]

The format of the Hercules-Cacus myth is different. Here the Callimachean style is followed to the extent that the aition-subject

---

[1] See further discussion on this matter in Chapter V, infra.

[2] The principal "benefit" which Evander confers upon Latium is to ennoble it by an exemplary simple life.

[3] Cf. supra, Chapter I, p. 17.

[4] For examples cf. supra, Intro., p. 8 n. 2.

—the Ara Maxima rite—is adverted to both before and after the aition, as in the cases in which Callimachus opens with a question to the Muses. But the technique employed by Vergil is in two important respects apparently non-Callimachean. Firstly, the story is told at the scene of Hercules' exploit and at the time of the rite which commemorates it.[1] Callimachus, for all his interest in geography, and despite the fact that he takes the trouble to have himself poetically transported to Helicon, does not imagine in his traveler-distress stories personal visits by himself to places where the events are said to have occurred. Nor does he, as a rule, picture himself as present at the rites in which the aitia end.[2] Secondly, in place of an inquiry by Aeneas, which would be formally appropriate as well as Callimachean at line 184, Vergil relates an eager, almost obnoxious protestation by Evander that the rite is the result of a real experience which the hero must hear recounted, and not the result of foolishness. The reason for the absence of a question by Aeneas has been adverted to earlier.[3] The main point here is that Vergil is moving the aition and the resulting phenomenon as close together as possible. Not only is the story put in the context of the time and place of its result; in addition, it is one of the participants, Evander, who volunteers the story. In this latter respect we have another departure from the Callimachean traveler-motive, in which participants are not found relating the aitia.

A geographical element naturally accompanies the traveler-motive. The place of encounter, as a locality outside the traveler's country, is part of the tale; and normally, it is to this place that the aition-subject is assignable. Callimachus' *Aitia*, from one point of view, is a perusal of famous and obscure sites scattered about the Mediterranean; his scene changes often and radically, both in the traveler-distress stories and in the other aitia. The importance of the geographical element is, of course, part and parcel of *Aeneid*

---

[1] In Fr. 178, Callimachus refers briefly and indirectly (lines 3f.) to the origin of the feast of the Aiora at which he depicts himself as present together with an Ikian. But there, as the poet's conversation with the foreigner indicates, the stories for which the banquet is the context appear to have nothing to do with the aition of the feast itself. The poet's first question in the prominently-positioned conversation is why the Thessalian Peleus is worshiped at Ikos (Fr. 178.23f.).

[2] Cf. supra, n. 1.

[3] Cf. supra, Chapter I, pp. 13ff.

8.1-369. Vergil's re-use of it needs little comment. What was lofty, sea-spanning, Heliconian vision in Callimachus becomes physical presence in Vergil. The travelers have their encounters; but now, instead of turning up anywhere from Cyzicus to Eryx, they converge. They are drawn by fear, fate, or accident to the Holy Land; and in the Holy Land stands Aeneas, closely identified with the Roman reader, silently reviewing the travelers' histories, contemplating the repetitions of circumstance, attitude, and action. In Callimachus the effect is one of constant diversion; in Vergil the effect is single and cumulative.

Our treatment of the travelers of book 8 has thus far largely left out The Traveler of book 8. The reason why Aeneas has not yet appeared here is that we have been unable to call him a traveler in an aition; his visit is tied in our passage to no specific result such as the naming of Latium or the worship of Hercules. It may appear curious when we realize that there are at least thirteen aitia in the passage, that Aeneas' visit is not the cause of any of them, and that still Aeneas' visit is the subject of the passage. For such an apparent *tour de force* as this Vergil deserves credit, and his accomplishment deserves further scrutiny.

The story of Aeneas' arrival as told in book 8.1-369 includes all the elements of the traveler-motive in an aition, except for the all-important result. He is a traveler meeting natives of a foreign country in their land; and not only does he come in need, but he even presents the Saturnian paradox of one who is mighty while needy. What is more, the traveler-inhabitant contrast that has up until now figured so prominently is part of his story also.

It is only by stepping back and viewing the action of the whole *Aeneid* that we can solve the anomaly. We are told what Saturn, Evander, and Hercules were doing when they arrived in Latium; we should ask what Aeneas is doing when he arrives there. The prologue, the introduction to the whole epic, ought to—and does—provide the kernel of the answer. Book 1, lines 5-7, tells the goal of Aeneas' quest.

> multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
> inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum
> Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

It is noteworthy that between the bringing of the household gods to Latium on the one hand and the *genus Latinum*, the *Albani*

patres, and the *latae moenia Romae* on the other, there is described a causal relationship. And although the active aspect of Aeneas' mission is in the background during book 8, it still holds that what he is engaged in doing is bringing the penates to Latium. Ilioneus has just described the Trojans' mission to Latinus in the previous book in these terms:

> Diluvio ex illo tot vasta per aequora vecti
> dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus
> innocuum et cunctis undamque auramque patentem.
>
> (*Aen.* 7.228-230)

We are reminded of the character of Aeneas' mission again at the beginning of book 8 when the enemy ambassador Venulus conveys to Diomedes the following message:

> Latio consistere Teucros,
> advectum Aenean classi victosque penatis
> inferre et fatis regem se dicere posci . . .
>
> (*Aen.* 8.10-12)

For the realization of the Trojan's goal, then, we can look no nearer to book 8 than the end of the epic and beyond. The bringing of the penates to Latium is not complete until the death of Turnus in the last lines of book 12; and the *unde* in 1.6 makes the entire *Aeneid* the aition for the *genus Latinum*, the *Albani patres*, and the *altae moenia Romae*.

To dissect the whole *Aeneid* on these grounds as an aition would be singularly unprofitable. But to hold that the *Aeneid* is looked at from within book 8, Part One, as an aition is eminently more reasonable; and it presents an attractive explanation of the formal parallels between Aeneas' arrival and the arrivals of the other travelers of book 8 in Latium. For example; when we have done listing the likenesses between Saturn and Aeneas (divine, pursued by a divinity, receiving and conferring benefits, etc.), and we come to consider the permanent phenomenon with which the arrival of each is linked, for Saturn we can point to the naming of Latium and the setting of a pattern for civilization; for Aeneas we can point to nothing less than Rome herself, destined to become the actualization of the Saturnian pattern, with all her greatest glories implied as outlined in the procession of souls in book 6 and the Shield scenes of book 8. The study of the traveler-distress aition

in book 8, then, shows clearly how the arrivals of Saturn, Evander, and Hercules are conceived artistically as miniature variations on the grand theme of the bringing of the Trojan household gods to Latium.

The above conclusions make it possible for us to return to our task of comparison, this time measuring the traveler Aeneas against those of Callimachus' *Aitia*.

Aeneas, like Herakles of the sorrowful laughter in Call. Frs. 24f., is depicted as one in *ἀπορία*; and the tone of his emotion is expressed in a simile:

Laomedontius heros
............magno curarum fluctuat aestu
atque animum nunc huc celerem, nunc dividit illuc
in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat:
sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aenis
sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia pervolitat late loca iamque sub auras
erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti.

(*Aen.* 8.18-25)

The contrast between Aeneas here and Jason in the Anaphe story is also instructive:

ἀλλ' ὅγ' ἀνι]άζων ὃν κέαρ Αἰσονίδης
σοὶ χέρας ἠέρ]ταζεν, Ἰήιε, πολλὰ δ' ἀπείλει
ἐς Πυθὼ πέ]μψειν, πολλὰ δ' ἐς Ὀρτυγίην,
εἴ κεν ἀμιχ⌋θαλόεσσαν ἀπ' ἠέρα νηὸς ἐλάσσῃς·

(*Aitia Fr.* 18.5ff.)

The condition of *ἀπορία* provokes Jason to promise honors to Apollo in return for assistance; but here Aeneas' troubled state is concluded by his simply falling asleep, his placing himself at the disposal of whatever power would present itself next. His promise of honor to Tiber and his plea for assistance come (*Aen.* 8.71-78) only as a reply to the advance made by Tiber. His receptivity, remarked on earlier from the viewpoint of his function as listener in the Speaker-Listener framework, is thus apparent once again when we compare his own arrival-story with that of Jason in Callimachus.

The inhabitants in the visit of Aeneas are primarily Tiber and Evander, who have been treated already as the Trojan's main

sources of information in our passage. The relationship that each of them has with the other, however, throws further light on the encounter which is to involve them.

Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello,
procubuit seramque dedit per membra quietem.
Huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno
populeas inter senior se attollere frondes
visus: eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
carbasus et crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo;
tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:

(*Aen.* 8.29-35)

Quietem at the end of line 30 concludes the setting of the stage for the encounter. In the very next line are juxtaposed the two parties of the encounter (*huic, deus ipse loci*). It is Tiber's ensuing instructions that lead the hero to the later situation in which (97ff.) he meets the inhabitant Evander. There is a climactic order, then, to the two meetings; the latter is an outgrowth of the former, and in this sense the meeting with Evander is a part of the meeting with Tiber. [1]

The encounter is much more fully elaborated here than in any of the preserved portions of Callimachus' stories. A series of overture/response alternations carries us through to the end of the passage.

35-67	Overture:	Tiber's speech
68-80	Response:	Aeneas' prayer and ritual
81-83	Overture:	sow appears.
84-85	Response:	Aeneas sacrifices sow.
86-89	Overture:	Tiber stills his flow.
90-101	Response:	Trojans journey upriver (*Ergo iter inceptum celerant* 90).
102-114	Overture:	Pallas' challenge.
115-120	Response:	Aeneas' reply.
121-125	Overture:	Pallas invites Aeneas to disembark, takes him to Evander.
126-151	Response:	Aeneas' proposal to Evander. (Response both to Pallas' invitation and to Tiber's directions).

[1] Further expansion on this observation will be found in Chapter V, infra.

152-181	Overture:	Evander welcomes Aeneas, invites him to feast.[1]
182-183	Response:	*Vescitur Aeneas simul et Troiana iuventus.*
184-309	Overture:	Evander's tale of Hercules and Cacus, followed by the rite of the Ara Maxima.
310-312	Response:	*Miratur . . .Aeneas,* etc.[2]
313-369	Overture:	the historical and geographical sketch of Latium; Evander's final admonitions concerning simplicity; his housing Aeneas for the night. No concluding response from Aeneas is recorded.

Two facts are worth noting here. 1) The sequence 26-369 both opens and closes with "overtures". Thus it is made clear that, in the encounter with Aeneas, the initiative remains with the land and its inhabitants from beginning to end. 2) Coupling this analysis with our remarks in the previous chapter, we can appreciate the duality of Aeneas' role. He is not only the hearer of most of the aitia in the sequence, as is Callimachus in the framework of the Muse-conversation of the *Aitia*; he is at the same time the central participant in the origin-story of Rome that overarches all the others.

We have analyzed the traveler-motive in the *Aitia* of Callimachus and in *Aen.* 8, distinguishing as its main elements 1) the traveler, 2) the inhabitant(s), 3) the encounter, and 4) the results of the

[1] A closer look at Evander's speech justifies our calling it an "overture" despite its position as a reply to Aeneas. The *lustrabat* which precedes (153) the address does not mean that Evander is pondering Aeneas' case. This is shown in his opening remarks, which have no connection with Aeneas' arguments. At first Evander thinks only of Anchises. When he finally mentions alliance at 169 near the end of his speech he begins *Ergo*—the alliance will be concluded because Aeneas is the son of Anchises. Aeneas' mission is thus accomplished without his own calculation having anything to do with the accomplishment. From these remarks it should be clear that Evander's "reply" really reflects the initiative with which the land and its inhabitants welcome Aeneas.

[2] These lines are the closest Vergil comes to an expression in which the listener Aeneas directly questions the speaker as in Callimachus. The indirectness of the reference to questions, and the quickness with which the poet turns again to the words of Evander, highlight an important change from Callimachus' artistry noted in the previous chapter. The initiative is entirely in the hands of the speaker.

encounter. A condition of distress for either traveler or inhabitants or both is common. Callimachean fragments from the myths of the Lindian and the Dryopian, the Herakles-Molorchos tale, and the aition of the Anaphe-ritual exemplify various parts of the motive. The Vergilian stories of Saturn, Evander, and Hercules contain it in more or less complete form. The fragmentary condition of the *Aitia* makes it impossible to say how Callimachus always or even usually treats details of the motive; but occasional thorough glimpses show us practices of his which are absent from the Vergilian passage under discussion, and study of the differences thus uncovered sometimes reveals their reasons. Callimachus' description of the traveler Herakles before the encounter in Fr. 24 affords an an example. There Callimachus attends to minute, pathetic detail which refines the reader's view of the character's emotions, and which centers the encounter around the individuals experiencing these emotions. By contrast, intimate detail is lacking in Vergil's accounts of Saturn and Evander. It is sacrificed for the subordination of their stories to the story of Latium, and the emotional interplay between the land and the fugitives who seek it out becomes direct, uncomplicated, and profound. Another contrast between Callimachus and Vergil is seen in the former's repeatedly making the outcome of the aition the direct result of the traveler's emotion. In traveler-inhabitant relationships Vergil and Callimachus both juxtapose lofty travelers and lowly inhabitants. And both poets use the theme of interdependence between the two meeting parties, although in Vergil this theme is more consistent, more prominent, and more significant. Likewise, offering or withholding of hospitality recurs in the *Aitia* and *Aen.* 8, but in the latter it is used to subordinate the stories of the individuals involved to that of Latium. In portraying the result of the aition, Vergil departs from the practice implied in the Callimachean Muse-conversation with its remoteness, by having the Hercules-Cacus story narrated at the time and place of the aetiologized celebration. Finally, when we turn from the minor travelers of *Aeneid* 8 to Aeneas himself, we find that their experiences are background variations on the experience of the Trojan hero himself, in whose case the result of the aition is implicitly the beginning of Rome itself.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HERCULES—CACUS MYTH

As Buchheit notes, it would be a mistake to take so carefully elaborated an episode as the Hercules-Cacus battle as simply an aetiology. That author goes on to make an appealing case for consideration of the episode as symbolic of the coming struggle between Aeneas and Turnus,[1] and doing so he shares the approach of Schnepf, whose main conclusion is that Hercules is a symbol, but of Augustus. [2]

It is not our principal purpose here to consider whether or not the symbolic interpretations of Buchheit and others are valid. We are basically investigating the likenesses and contrasts of form between Vergil and Callimachus, and hoping to demonstrate that such an investigation, differing widely as it does from those of Schnepf and Buchheit, still yields significant information concerning the art of Vergil.

Before beginning we should note that the aitia of *Aen.* 8, bearing clearly as they do upon institutions, etc., of Vergil's day, betray a contemporary urgency undiscovered in the *Aitia* of Callimachus. In this respect they justify the effort expended to elucidate the Augustan significance of the Hercules-Cacus myth. Attempts to find symbolic or allegorical dimensions of the myth which relate it to Augustus, even if carried too far at times,[3] are nevertheless reasonable in principle. At any rate, this study shares with others a search for contemporary Augustan meaning in the Hercules-aition, as this chapter will show.

Earlier literature on the passage disclosed much about the material at Vergil's disposal and its use by various writers; [4]

---

[1] *Virgil über die Sendung Roms*, Gymnasium Beiheft 3 (Heidelberg, 1963) pp. 116ff.

[2] "Das Herculesabenteuer in Virgils Aeneis", *Gymnasium*, 66 (1959), pp. 250ff.

[3] D. L. Drew, for example, in *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (Oxford, 1927), p. 18, offers the unwarranted theory that 8.107-174 is meant to represent the transition from August 12 to August 13, 29 B.C.

[4] The best collections of pertinent data are J. G. Winter, *The Myth of Hercules at Rome* (N.Y., 1910), and J. Bayet, *Les origines de l'Hercule Romain*, Bibl. des Ec. Fr. d'Ath. et de Rome, Vol. 132 (Paris, 1926).

and one study, that of Münzer, contained some perspective comments on the development of the Cacus-myth,[1] in which matters both of subject-matter and of style were treated. Schnepf and Buchheit, of course, built up their interpretations upon the information supplied by Bayet, Winter, Münzer and others.

Buchheit's above-mentioned remark is our starting point. The reason why it was necessary was precisely because the Hercules-Cacus story *is*, for all its profounder dimensions, in form an aition; and Callimachus was still the acknowledged master of the form in Augustus' day.[2]

We shall first present a summary of Vergil's treatment, which will be compared with others available.[3] In this way we may see more clearly the choice of material Vergil made and the emphases with which he told his tale. We shall conclude with an attempt to specify the manipulations of the theme that are creditable to Vergil himself. Then, we may compare his treatment with Callimachus' artistry in the *Aitia* to see how much of Vergilian manipulation is a reflection of Callimachean approach.

Aen. 8.184-189

Livy, who begins his version of the Hercules-Cacus story by mentioning the resulting rite, does so out of aetiological interest.[4] Of those who do not start their accounts of the tale this way, some are merely preoccupied with other matters;[5] while others are truly enough telling an aition, but save the rite as aition-result for the conclusion.[6] Vergil, like Livy, begins with a reference to the rite.

A comparison with Livy's account, though, indicates the dramatic

---

[1] Fr. Münzer, *Cacus der Rinderdieb* (Basel, 1911).

[2] Cf. Propertius' calling himself the "Roman Callimachus" as he embarks on aetiological poetry, 4.1.64, and remarks supra, Intro., pp. 6f.

[3] Other principal carriers of the tradition are Livy (1.7), Propertius (4.9), Ovid (F. 1.543ff.), Dion. Hal. (1.39ff.), Strabo (5.3), Diodorus (4.21), *Or. Gent. Rom.* (6-8), and Servius in various comments on Vergil's version. Scraps of information are found in numerous other authors, many (but not all) of whom are listed on the stemma accompanying Winter, op. cit. Since all the sources do not include all major parts of the story as told by Vergil (e.g. Cacus is unmentioned in Strabo's account of Hercules' visit), not all of them will be referred to at every point in our comments.

[4] 1.7.3.

[5] E.g. Diod., whose topic is the westward journey of Herakles.

[6] E.g. Prop., Ov.

purpose behind the way in which he chooses to mention it. Livy, recounting Romulus' career, states:

> Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, sacra dis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euandro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca Geryone interempto boues mira specie abegisse memorant, etc.
>
> (Livy 1.7.3-4)

The aition follows, after the conclusion has been explicitly laid out. In Vergil, the fact that Hercules is the divinity honored is withheld in these introductory lines, and indeed is withheld until Evander has gotten thirteen lines into his narrative. Hercules is referred to personally only in the unspecific *tanti numinis* (186) and as *deus* (201) before line 203. He has been mentioned as the object of the celebration earlier (102-104); but that mention was in information conveyed from the poet to the reader. For Aeneas, the narrative is to derive part of its impact from its dramatic progression; accordingly, all Aeneas learns in Evander's introductory lines is that 1) the cause of this celebration is not *vana superstitio*, 2) but rather deliverance from terrible evils. The evildoer and the savior are then specified and described in order. At any rate, only Vergil among the tellers of the story solves the question of telling or not telling the conclusion at the beginning through this device of gradual unveiling that contributes to dramatic development. [1]

While other accounts of the myth emphasize the hospitality-relationship between Hercules and his host,[2] none of them places the story within a context of narration by a friendly host to his guest. On the strength of this alone we should suspect a generous element of Vergilian originality in 184-189.

A comparison of the passage with its Homeric antecedent —Nestor's reception of Telemachus—encourages this suspicion.[3] Here, note Nestor's first recorded remark, at a banquet scene, to Telemachus' companion Athena:

> εὔχεο νῦν, ὦ ξεῖνε, Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι·
> τοῦ γὰρ καὶ δαίτης ἠντήσατε δεῦρο μολόντες.
>
> (Υ 43-44)

[1] Cf. other comments on dramatic development in Vergil's narrative in B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 41ff.

[2] Cf. e.g. *Or. Gent. Rom.* 7.4; Strabo 5.3.3; Diod. 4.21.3.

[3] Cf. the beginning of γ.

The king then urges the disguised goddess to pass the libation-cup to Telemachus, who must also be a worshiper of the immortal gods:

> . . . πάντες δὲ θεῶν χατέουσ' ἄνθρωποι.
>
> (γ 48)

and shortly afterward Poseidon is made the object of a prayer by Athena. It is left for Vergil, though, to pick up the clue in line 48 and to bring the reason for a celebration from the level of an aphorism down to that of a concrete history. It is left for him to make a detailed connection between the god who is honored and the concrete occasion of his worship.

Other meals in the *Aeneid*, like that in γ, are described without careful concern for their own inherent significance. Aeneas' *O socii* speech, for example, is concluded by a meal at the end of which 8.184 is verbally reflected:

> Postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae,
> Amissos longo socios sermone requirunt
> Spemque metumque inter dubii, seu vivere credant
> sive extrema pati nec iam exaudire vocatos.
>
> (1.216-219)

> Postquam exempta fames et amor compressus edendi . . .
>
> (8.184)

This meal, though, is but another incident in the anxious chain of events leading to the meeting with Dido.

The conclusion of the banquet in her palace also shows a completely different spirit.

> Postquam prima quies epulis mensaeque remotae,
> crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant.
>
> (1.723-724)

Dido proposes a libation, then Iopas takes up his lyre. These events set the stage for the softening of Dido in Aeneas' presence, described in 1.748ff;

> Nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat
> Infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem,
> multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa; . . .

She then asks the questions that Aeneas takes two books to answer. We are made quite aware that her interest in the fall of Troy is secondary to her interest in Aeneas himself. Twenty-nine lines of varied material (Dido's prayer, Iopas' song of sun, moon, and the origin of man, the queen's conversation) separate the formulaic closing of the meal at 723 from the coaxing plea for the story of how Troy fell.

While time and inclination permit such vagaries under Dido's roof, the humbler circumstances attending Evander in *Aen.* 8 dictate otherwise. The aition follows the meal-ending formula directly; the impression of peace and focused attention is paramount here. The line *varioque viam sermone levabat* (8.309), contrasting Evander in 8 with Dido at 1.748, can wait until the Hercules story has been told; and when it comes up, the irresponsible cozening of Dido's *trahebat* will be transformed into the relief from ennobling hardship that *levabat* implies. For the present, the reader's (and Aeneas') attention is turned at once to three things; *haec sollemnia, has dapes, hanc aram* (185-186), a concentric trio that contains progression from the whole event (the feast of Hercules) to the part of the event just concluded, to the visible, geographically fixed center of the event. [1]

The triplet is preceded by a negative (*non,* 185), an element that appears often at the head of speeches in Homer and Vergil

[1] Dido's banquet is discussed here to illustrate how, in presenting a banquet-scene that contains a lengthy reflection upon the origin of the feast itself, Vergil varies not only from Homeric practice but from his own as well. Among the meals of the *Aeneid,* the banquet given by Dido bears the closest parallel to the Hercules-feast in book 8, and so best illustrates the contrast. Our further comments comparing the spirit of the two events are justified by the fact that the two receptions of Aeneas at Carthage and Pallanteum are remarkably antithetical. Carthage is not only short of Aeneas' goal; it almost becomes the place where his mission founders. Latium is the goal itself. Dido welcomes Aeneas in an outpouring of Oriental splendor; Evander has but the essentials to offer him, and at 8.365-369 we discover the full significance of his meager circumstances. Dido's reaction to the presence of Aeneas, as reflected in the banquet (cf. esp. 1.748-749), is one of overpowering personal attraction which will ultimately sweep away all reserve and all sense of duty to her departed Sychaeus. The emotional attitude of Evander, however, is one of reverent faithfulness to the divine in the world about him and to the high value he puts on the simple virtues. Lines 184-189 emphasize his *pietas* and that of his followers; and lines 362-365 show that his acceptance of Aeneas, declared at the banquet scene (172-174), necessarily involves Aeneas' embracing the simple life. These background contrasts lend significance to the verbal connection between 1.748 and 8.309 commented upon here.

to forestall reservations or misconceptions in the mind of the listener.[1] In the present case, there is nothing to suggest that Aeneas might view the celebration as prompted by *superstitio* which is *vana* or *ignara deorum veterum.*[2] To whom, then, does the poet address this negative if not to the wider audience of which we have spoken earlier, Aeneas in union with the Roman reader? A Roman of the principate would have much greater need for such an admonition than *pius Aeneas* of the heroic age. Vergil, as a follower of Augustus, was caught up in the paradox of a religious revival in an age of cynicism. For an effective telling of the Hercules-Cacus story as he wanted to tell it, two problems had to be dealt

[1] Cf. e.g. λ 405ff. (Agamemnon to Odysseus); *Aen.* 6.347ff. (Palinurus to Aeneas); 6.509ff. (Deiphobus to Aeneas); 8.129ff. (Aeneas to Evander).

[2] *Superstitio,* whatever its etymology, appears to mean "False belief" in the present instance; for similar usage see Cic., *D.N.D.*, I.45, 117. It appears that Vergil is anachronizing Roman religious orthodoxy; if this view is valid, Day Lewis' translation of *vana superstitio* as "fanciful heresy" is especially happy.

Hermann Fränkel's suggestion (*Miscellanea G. Galbiati,* Fontes Ambrosiani, Vol. 25 (Milan, 1951), pp. 127-128) that *veterum deorum* contrasts Hercules the newly-created divinity with the established divinities is ingenious but questionable. His theory is that the worship of Hercules has to be defended on the grounds that Hercules is not one of the original Olympians. "'You should not assume,'" he paraphrases Evander, "'that we rashly neglect the established deities in favor of a man of our own time whom we fancy to be divine; the innovation (*novamus*) of a cult for Hercules was well deserved,'" etc. Yet Evander's first references to Hercules are as *tantum numen* (86) and as *deus* (201). Further reading of the passage to line 204 makes it clear that the poet deliberately and climactically withholds identification of the saving power (*Alcides,* 203); before that reference it is not even certain Aeneas knows who the divinity is. How, then, can it be proposed that Evander means to contrast his newly-deified savior with the established gods in speaking to Aeneas in 187?

Fränkel argues that Hercules' being a foreign import should not need apology when Aeneas is a *hospes* and Evander himself is not only an immigrant but a Greek as well. We could argue against his own solution with equal cogency that Hercules needs no apology as an addition to the pantheon, since by early and widespread Greek and Roman tradition he is closely and properly allied with the Olympians. The point that Fränkel seems to have missed is that Evander is explaining not the newness of the divinity, but the newness of the rite. It is the solemn celebration, the banquet, and the altar that *vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum* has not imposed upon the Arcadians; they establish this feast to commemorate their real deliverance from a savage peril. What is more, the references, *tantum numen* (186) and *deus* (201) encourage the impression that, whereas Hercules' effort to reach divinity is emphasized at 362-366, he is here introduced to Aeneas as primarily divine. Thus, the meaning of the passage is that although the rites are new, they are not born of *superstitio* which is forgetful of the old gods.

with; in literature a strong tendency to euhemerism, for which we have especially good evidence in Hercules-Cacus versions;[1] and, in religious practice, a concern to show that the rites of the Augustan revival, like the "restored" political constitution, deserved credence and respect because they represented a return to valid tradition. For better or worse esthetically, Vergil saw fit to approach these problems by opening the myth-narrative with an explicit *apologia.* [2]

What we have, then, is Vergil the poet of aitia entering an area of polemic with which his predecessor Callimachus would certainly not have concerned himself; an area which Livy, with interests overlapping Vergil's, touched but briefly,[3] and which did not lend itself to attention in the Hercules-Cacus story as told by either Propertius or Ovid.[4]

The prologue to the *Aitia* told the reader that what he was to look for was the elaboration of esthetic principles, and it told him in an obtrusive, forceful way. Vergil in the present passage is equally solicitous of the reader's careful attention and less artistically obtrusive.[5] But he directs the reader's interest to a totally different aspect of his story; the main point is that, in some way, it is true.

190-199

This passage forms the transition from the Arcadian beauty of Pallanteum to the grimness of Cacus' cave in the day of the Herculean visitation.[6] 191-192, referring to the scene visible to Aeneas, contains the first traces of the revolting setting to which Evander is

---

[1] Cf. esp. D. H. 1., p. 40, and later *Or. Gent. Rom.* 6.

[2] Perhaps this apologetic approach itself may be taken as evidence that the Ara Maxima cult was part of Augustus' religious revival program.

[3] Livy regards it as a noteworthy exception that the Hercules rite is old though Greek: *Sacra dis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euandro instituta erant, (Romulus) facit* (1.7.3).

[4] Propertius' lighter touch is reflected in a recent plausible attempt to interpret 4.9 as a picture of an *exclusus amator* (William S. Anderson, "Hercules Exclusus: Propertius, IV, p. 9", AJPh 85 (1964), 1-12). The monotonous repetitions of *boves* (3 times), *ite,* and *bis* in three lines (4.9.16-18) leave room for the suspicion that a comic rustic effect is intended. Ovid, of course, needs no commentator to tell us his treatment of sacred things is cavalier.

[5] Vergil's *apologia* is immediate, bald, and anachronistic. Callimachus' prologue, brightened as it is by a direct injunction from Apollo (Fr. 1.22ff.), prepares the reader imaginatively for the Muse-appearance in the poetry that is to ensue.

[6] On Vergil's development of the cave scene cf. Münzer, op. cit., p. 31.

about to transport his listener. At 193 we find ourselves in another world. Down to 197, only three words (*semi-hominis Caci facies*) have been used to refer to the monster himself; the cave is the focus.

No other version, in prose or poetry, makes this geographical entry into the tale. Most others begin with the arrival of Hercules. [1]

It is also a distinguishing feature of Vergil's account that he expends such care on the description of the cave; and the writer who comes closest to equaling him in this respect, Ovid, is imitating him.[2]

In passing on to Cacus himself let us recall that we do not intend to answer the probably insoluble problem of the monster's historical or mythological origin, but to determine as best we can what types of Cacus were available from previous sources when Vergil created his story.[3]

Variations on the Cacus theme range from deliberate mythologzing, as in Vergil, to debiterate rationalizing as in Dionysius and Servius. The latter's comment on *Aen.* 8.190 will be an appropriate starting point.

> Cacus secundum fabulam Vulcani filius fuit, ore ignem ac fumum vomens, qui vicina omnia populabatur. Veritas tamen secundum philologos et historicos hoc habet, hunc fuisse Euandri nequissimum servum ac furem. Novimus autem malum a Graecis κακόν dici: quem ita illo tempore Arcades appellabant. Postea translato accentu Cacus dictus est, ut Helena. Ignem autem dictus est vomere, quod agros igne populabatur. Hunc soror sua eiusdem nominis prodidit: unde etiam sacellum meruit in quo ei pervigili igne sicut Vestae sacrificabatur. [4]

It is interesting to note that in the versions composed in the time of Augustus and before, only those of Vergil and his dependents

---

[1] E.g. Livy, Prop., Ov., Diod., D.H. 1.39. See also F. J. Worstbrock, *Elemente einer Poetik der Aeneis* (Münster, 1963), p. 110, on the importance of geography here.

[2] E.g. *F.* 1.555 cf. *Aen.* 8.193; *F.* 1.557-558 cf. *Aen.* 8.195-197.

[3] On Cacus' origin, cf. Schnepf, op. cit. (Supra, p.43, n. 2), p. 251.

[4] On the reading *pervigili igne sicut Vestae* for the Thilo-Hagen choice of *per virgines Vestae* cf. Bayet, op. cit., pp. 208, 212, 213. Note that on the basis of the evidence gathered by Bayet in p. 210, n. 3, while it is permissible to consider Cacus as Roman and early, the present Servius text does not make the original Cacus a fire-god.

make Cacus anything more than an extraordinarily obnoxious inhabitant of the land. Winter, proceeding quite reasonably on this information, credited the turning of Cacus into a fire-breathing son of Vulcan to Vergil.[1] Bayet suggests that the Augustan poetic versions of Propertius, Ovid and Vergil may be reactions against rationalism to earlier mythical forms of the story.[2] But the last word seems to remain Wissowa's comment:

> Niemand wird die Möglichkeit leugnen, dass die uns erst durch Gewährsmänner der Augusteischen Zeit überlieferte Fassung die älteste sein und das Fehlen früherer auf einem Zufalle beruhen konnte; aber Gründe, welche diese Möglichkeit zur Wahrscheinlichkeit oder Sicherheit brächten, gibt es nicht . . . [3]

To credit the transformation of Cacus to Vergil, then, seems to be the course that agrees best with our knowledge in its present state. We may find some support for this view in the fact that of the two major ancient sources that offer different versions for comparison, neither holds up the fire-breathing monster against the commonplace robber. One of them, Dionysius, even notes that the purpose of his relating two versions is to compare the μυθικώτερα with the ἀληθέστερα; and in the former, the mythical creature is nothing more than λῃστής τις ἐπιχώριος.[4] The indication here, at the very least, is that in the time of Augustus, Cacus the fire-breather was not part of solid widely-accepted Roman tradition.

When we turn to *Aen.* 8, we find hints of good artistic reasons why Vergil should have performed such a radical operation on his subject.

The scenery-transition connected with advertence to Cacus has just been noted. The cave-description is a fit beginning for a story that is to culminate in a katabasis-like exploit. When this tale of the supernatural closes (262ff.), the cave-mouth is again the setting; and it is used as the point of re-entry from the world of the fearfully supernatural to that of Arcadian Pallanteum.

---

[1] Cf. Winter, op. cit., pp. 228, 252. So also Worstbrock, op. cit., p. 110 n. 163.

[2] Cf. Bayet, op. cit., pp. 142-145.

[3] Cf. RE 3.1168 s.v. "Cacus".

[4] D. H. 1.39.1ff. *Or. Gent. Rom.* pp. 6-7 also offers alternate stories, neither of which contains a fire-breather.

It is clear from the geographical references that the poet wishes the Hercules-Cacus encounter to take place in a different milieu from that of all the other encounters of *Aen.* 8.1-369. For Saturn, Evander, and Aeneas, Latium was a place of refuge, warmth, and hospitality. For Hercules himself, once the battle-scene was left behind, Latium was the same (362-365). To introduce Cacus as co-dweller and commonplace acquaintance and associate with the other inhabitants, as the non-Vergilian tradition makes him, would be to damage the pitch of sensitivity to which Vergil elevates both land and inhabitants in preparation for the approach of Aeneas, and to a lesser degree of the other travelers. Another world has been created geographically for Hercules' feat; it should be no less appropriate to create an enemy who fits the impression of terror that that world conveys, and who most emphatically has nothing to do with the Laurentum and the *arva Latina* that have been longing for Aeneas' coming. It is perhaps a sign of the poet's concern to keep a distance between the two worlds that any communication between Hercules and the Arcadians is carefully omitted until after the *ex illo* of 268 that marks the return to Arcadian Pallanteum. The king's remark *haec limina victor/Alcides subiit* (362f.) is delayed considerably. Response from the land of the type that greeted Aeneas turns up in the battle-scene in the form of distorted reverberations. Line 216 in the battle (*impleri nemus et colles clamore relinqui*) is echoed in Arcadian Latium at 305 (*consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant*); but where the latter connotes jubilation, the former describes agitation by reason of its following directly the word *querellis* (215).[1] Similarly, the river that had stilled its flow to accommodate the Trojans (*leniit et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,* 87) reacts to the battle by recoiling in dread (*dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis,* 240).[2]

The supernaturalizing of Cacus can be considered as dictated for Vergil, then, by the artistic needs of the first part of book 8; and the stark contrast with other ways in which ancients treated the cattle-thief invites explanation on the grounds of these needs.

---

[1] Note that a term such as *querellis* denoting anxiety is not called for in the dramatic development of the story, since it is the free cattle and not the captured animals who moo first.

[2] Significance is added to the recurrence of *refluo* by the fact that the word is used only one other time in the *Aeneid* (9.32).

200-204

The eastward journey of Hercules after the slaying of Geryon inspired a series of myths along the Italian peninsula; [1] and the remark that he was on that journey formed a standard portion of the Cacus-myth.[2] Cacus is not always part of the story of Hercules' visit, but Geryon's cattle are.[3]

Most versions reflect on the hero's need for refreshment, or at least on his receiving it. Here Vergil differs sharply. Not only is there absence of reference to Hercules as tired both here and at 213ff.; the suggestions that create our picture of him are brief, pointed, and cumulative. He is called *ultor* (201), *superbus* (202), *victor* (203).[4] These terse notes look forward to the coming action, and prepare us for the single-minded intensity that Hercules is about to display. In this section then, the important items to note are that Vergil uses the preceding Geryon exploit to set Hercules' mood, and that he draws attention away from the humanity of Hercules.

205-212

The ruse of dragging the stolen cattle off by the tail is frequent. [5] The motive for the theft is the main Vergilian peculiarity here. No other authority goes out of his way to emphasize that Cacus committed the deed because he was evil.[6]

213-218

In this passage, Vergil's avoidance of any ordinary human attributes for Hercules is deliberate. The herd was moved when *it* was finished eating (213), and the hero was unaware at first that anything was amiss. By contrast, in Ovid he counted the flock after awakening and discovered two were missing. In Dionysius also, he discovered the shortage by counting.[7]

The discovery came to Vergil's Hercules with the suddenness of a stolen beast's mooing from within the cave. The same mode

[1] Cf. the enumeration of Diod. in his narrative before and after 4.21 and Herakles' visit to Rome.

[2] Cf. Ov. *F.* 1.543; Prop. 4.9.2; D. H. 1.39.1; etc.

[3] Ibid.; on Cacus' occasional absence cf. e.g. Strabo.

[4] Cf. Münzer's remark (op. cit., p. 27) that Hercules is treated briefly as well known to the audience, in contrast to Cacus.

[5] Livy 1.7.5; *Or. Gent. Rom.* 6.2, 7.2; DH 1.39.2.

[6] Cf. B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1964), p. 335.

[7] Cf. Ov., *F.* 1.458; D.H. 1.39.3.

of discovery is used elsewhere, for example in *Or. Gent. Rom.* 6, where Hercules hears the mooing from the cave as he drives his herd by. But Vergil utilizes the suddenness of the discovery as a prelude to the violence of an equally sudden response. [1]

219-246

The chase follows the indications of the introduction that we are in a supernatural context. And its development shows how Vergil takes the hint of Cacus' craftiness,[2] and builds it up in contrast to the power of a Hercules whose only weapon is brute force and whose only motive is rage.[3] The thief's lair is made secure by ingenuity and foresight (*arte paterna,* 226), and is broken into only by ferocious strength (236-240). It appears no less likely that Vergil introduced the wonderful cave-door than it is that he made Cacus Vulcan's son. Finally, the formally (if not functionally) gratuitous comparison of the cave with Hades is found in no other version of the myth.[4]

247-261

Only Vergil details the battle itself at such length. Ovid, his imitator, comes closest to him in this respect, devoting ten lines to the scene. In the other versions the battle is disposed of in as little as one ablative absolute.[5] The combatants' choice of weapons (Hercules' *ramis vastisque molaribus,* 250; Cacus' fire and smoke,

---

[1] Cf. Münzer, op. cit., pp. 20f.

[2] The author of *Or. Gent. Rom.* credits the tail-dragging ruse to a pre-Vergilian source, Cassius Hemina of the second century B.C. (*Or. Gent. Rom.* 6.2, 7.1).

[3] Only the accounts of Vergil, Propertius, and Ovid turn in detail to the mood of Hercules and its expression; so once again the evidence points to Vergil as the originator. The contrast with D.H. 39.4 is instructive. There, the wealth of detail merely shows the author's concern with the chain of events. Here, Vergil attends to internal attitude. The lines 219-221 contrast with the corresponding passages even of the Augustan poets, though. Propertius (4.9.14-15) passes directly from discovery to punishment. In Ovid, Hercules' response to the theft is as follows:

mugitum rauco furta dedere sono.
"Accipio revocamen" ait vocemque secutus
impia per silvas ultor ad antra venit.

(*F.* 1.560-562)

The tame description of Hercules taking up the challenge sets off strikingly the blaze of fury that is seen to overtake him in Vergil.

[4] Cf. Buchheit, op. cit., p. 119.

[5] Cf. *Or. Gent. Rom.* 7.4 *interfectoque Caco*; Solin. 1.7 *punito Caco.*

251ff.) agrees with what we have noted already about the supernatural context and scale of the struggle.

262-267

No other version has a passage comparable to this one, in which awestruck contemplation of the corpse at the cave-mouth prepares the way for the return to the peaceful scene of the day of Aeneas' arrival.

268-305

It is now possible to propose the principal respects in which Vergil expanded on the Cacus story; 1) attention to dramatic development, 2) elaboration of character, 3) supernaturalization of the battle and its surroundings—"the separation of the milieux" and 4) heavy dependence on the scenic background to reflect and amplify the above matters. Application of this information to 268-305, in which the rite itself gets attention, will suggest explanations for the choices Vergil made in recording the rite.

Before we make this application it should be observed that only Vergil's among the Cacus-myth versions concludes with a hymn. [1]

The Potitii and the Pinarii, traditional custodians of the cult, are mentioned, but not integrated into the story. The reason seems to be that had the latter been done, a scene of communication between Hercules and at least one *Potitius* would have been called for; and according to our theory Vergil wanted to avoid this. [2]

The tithe is an element which seems to be associated early with the Ara Maxima.[3] Its omission here might be explained by the fact that its inclusion would probably have involved an order

[1] And there is no antecedent in Homer for the hymn, although individual parts might reflect Homeric influence, e.g. 296 cf. λ 23 (noted by G. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer*, Hypomnemata, Heft 7, Göttingen, 1964), p. 404.

[2] Cf. Winter, op. cit., pp. 203, 226; Bayet, op. cit., p. 253. The interpretation of *statuit* (271) is connected with the manner of inclusion of these two families. The subject of the verb is in doubt (Knight chooses *Potitii*, Day Lewis and Conington *Hercules*). *Primus Potitius* and *domus Pinaria* (269, 270) seem too closely knit one to the other for one of them to be extracted and made the subject of *statuit*; they are joined both by the *-que* on *primus* and the *et* in 270. Hercules seems the best choice; and as such, he appears in independent action consonant with the impression of Hercules which we have been delineating.

[3] Cf. J. Toutain, "Observations sur le cult d'Hercule à Rome", REL 6 (1928), pp. 206ff.

from Hercules, or at least the choice of a member of his herd for the offering; and again, this would have been hard to do without erasing the distance that Vergil so carefully puts between the hero and the natives.

The exclusion of women from the Herculean rites is ignored.[1] Although this omission does not need the present theory for an explanation, we may point out why the exclusion of women would have fit poorly the pattern Vergil is seen to have created. An earlier remark dealt with the separation of Cacus from everyone else in Latium, and from Latium itself. Once this separation has been made, the poet is free to portray Latium the harbor of strangers and all its dwellers as unmixed blessing to wayfarers;[2] and from much of what we have said, it appears that he wishes to portray it in this way. To introduce an unwilling priestess of the Bona Dea (as in Prop. 4.9.51ff.), or any other device that creates hostility among the inhabitants at the scene, would be to break the impression of Latin hospitality which Vergil takes such pains everywhere to arrange. It is possible that, like the element of the Potitii and Pinarii, the exclusion is merely mentioned, this time veiled in the reference to the ritual chorus, which was composed, it seems, of men only.[3]

362-365

The raising of Hercules to greater-than-life stature, and the consequent playing-down of his human-level dealings, explains the extraction of his hospitable reception from the Cacus-slaying episode nearly a hundred lines earlier and its terse reduction to a line and a half (362b-363). The contrast with many other versions, in which monster-slaying and hospitality receive their more natural close connection, is striking.[4]

Keeping in mind the above-enumerated areas of character elaboration, dramatic development, separation of the milieux, and use of scenic detail, we shall offer a comparison of Vergil's Hercules-Cacus myth with the *Aitia* of Callimachus, in an attempt

---

[1] Cf. Macrob. 1.12.28, Prop. 4.9.69.

[2] Even Saturn's departure is passed over, perhaps for the preservation of this character of Latium's benevolence to travelers (cf. *Aen.* 8.325-326).

[3] The fact that *iuvenum* is constrasted with *senum* seems to indicate that it refers exclusively to males.

[4] Cf. e.g. Ov. *F.* 1.580ff.; *Or. Gent. Rom.* 6, 7; Livy 1.7.8.ff.

to discover which of these areas had already received careful attention in Callimachus' aetiological artistry, and what type of attention they received.

184-189

The scene is reminiscent in several particulars of *Call.* Fr. 178:

ἠῶς οὐδὲ πιθοιγὶς ἐλάνθανεν οὐδ' ὅτε δούλοις
ἦμαρ 'Ορέστειοι λευκὸν ἄγουσι χόες·
'Ικαρίου καὶ παιδὸς ἄγων ἐπέτειον ἁγιστύν,
'Ατθίσιν οἰκτίστη, σὸν φάος, 'Ηριγόνη,
ἐ̣ς̣ δ̣α̣ίτην̣ ἐκ̣άλ̣ε̣σσεν ὁμηθέας, ἐν δέ νυ τοῖσι
ξεῖνον ὃς 'Α[ἰ]γύπτῳ καινὸς ἀνεστρέφετο
μεμβλωκὼς ἴδιόν τι κατὰ χρέος· ἦν δὲ γενέθλην
Ἴκ̣ιος, ᾧ ξυνὴν εἶχον ἐγὼ κλισίην
οὐκ ἐπιτάξ, ἀλλ' αἶνος 'Ομηρικός, αἰὲν ὁμοῖον
ὡς θεός, οὐ ψευδής, ἐς τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει.

. . .

τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ τάδ' ἔλεξα περιστείχοντος ἀλείσου

(1-10, 13)

The feast portrayed is the Aiora. Accordingly, references to the wine-cup are liberal as the poet describes his making the acquaintance of Theugenes, the traveler from Ikos. But instead of a connection being made between the feast itself and its origin-story, the attention given to wine is made the occasion of a small-talk aphorism (15-16) with which the poet demonstrates the appropriateness of conversation—conversation on any topic—for convivial drinking. It is from this point that the poet launches back into persistent inquiry, whose topics of course are unrelated to the feast at hand (23-35). The banquet scene is salted with an oversea excursion of the imagination.

One can readily see how the special purpose of Vergil necessitates a completely different approach. The unification of movement in 184-189 is all-pervasive. The story is told not by the visitor but by the host; not about a distant scene, but about the one before the conversants; not in reply to a question, but at the host's own insistence. Three forms of *hic* (185-186) are piled one upon the other, to make the dramatic connection between present and past unmistakable.

It is interesting to note, further, the contrast between Calli-

machus' recurring curiosity about why a deity is honored outside his bailiwick (Fr. 178.23ff.; cf. Fr. 43.84ff.) and Vergilian anxiousness that such a departure not be misinterpreted as *superstitio veterum ignara deorum.*

190-199

The closeness of expression between 190ff. and the opening of Kalliope's speech at Fr. 7.23ff. is enlightening:

> 'Αἰ˺λήτην ˻'Ανά˺φην τε, Λακωνίδι γείτονα Θ˻ήρῃ,
> π]ρῶ̣τ̣[ον ἐνὶ μ]νήμῃ κάτθεο καὶ Μινύας,
> ἄ̣˻ρχμενος ὡς˺ ἥ̣ρωες ἀπ' Αἰήταο Κυταίου
> αὖτις ἐς ἀρχαίην˺ ἔπλεον Αἱμονίην

In each case there is a clean break from what has immediately preceded; and the adverb (πρῶτον, Fr. 7.24; *primum, Aen.* 8.190) directs the listener's attention to a geographical location. Characteristically, the Muse urges the poet to construct Aiglete and Anaphe, near Thera, in his mind (ἐνὶ μνήμῃ κάτθεο, l.24), while Evander directs the gaze of Aeneas (*aspice,* 190; note the presence of *hanc* again) to something before him. The next step in each account elaborates its divergence from the other. ἐνὶ μνήμῃ κάτθεο, etc., in Fr. 7.25, refreshing the poet's memory concerning what he already knows, colors in the imaginative context which the Muse urges him to build up. Evander, on the contrary, delays his reference to Hercules, the element of his story perhaps best known from other sources to Aeneas and the Roman reader, until after proceeding from the geographically present (190, *hanc . . . rupem*) to the geographically unknown (193, *hic spelunca fuit*), and thence to the monster whose nature is to be unveiled in the present poem. The Muse as a storyteller, then, approaches her hearer through his learning; Evander approaches his through the latter's senses. The difference is a matter of Vergil's shaping his artistry around the centrality of an objective, localizable historical phenomenon —ultimately Rome itself—, while his predecessor prefers to focus upon the process of recollection itself. Again it is clear how Callimachus subordinates subject matter to the telling of the story, while Vergil does the opposite.

The differing functions of πρῶτον and *primum* are also enlightening. πρῶτον follows a series of two, possibly three, questions (Fr.

7.19-21) about similar rites in widely separated places. The muse's use of the word directs the listener's imagination to the land that was implicated in the first of the poet's questions:

κῶς δέ, θεαί̣, . [. . .] μὲν ἀνὴρ 'Αναφαῖος ἐπ' αἰσ[χροῖς
ἡ δ' ἐ̣π̣ὶ̣ δ̣υ̣[σφήμοις] Λίνδος ἄγει θυσίην,
η . . . τηνε[. . . . . . . τ]ὸν 'Ηρακλῆα σεβίζῃ;

(Fr. 7.19-21)

When, then, the reader sees πρῶτον, he is invited to consider the Anaphe tale as one in a series, and automatically files away δεύτερον mentally for future use. The connection between (or among) the members of the series is the rather sophisticated one that each is a story satisfying the poet's curiosity about shocking language in a religious rite. If a reader is to attend to the unifying element in the sequence, he is perforce led to a level upon which subject-matter in the stories is dealt with most emphatically from the outside, and upon which the poet-Muse relationship remains in the foreground. [1]

The contrast in Vergil could not be profounder. Evander's *primum* is the opening of a single story; the listener is referred to a physical feature from which he may draw the imaginative material out of which the story comes. *Primum* refers the audience to a hitherto unmentioned place (*hanc . . . rupem*) in an abrupt break from the previous line (*meritosque novamus honores*, 189).[2] All the information concerning why the *rupes* is the starting point of the story must come from succeeding lines. Here we are in the presence of Vergilian dramatic development as commented on by Otis.[3] We are oriented forward to the disclosure of the "why" for the *Ara Maxima*, and the *Iam primum* appears forcefully as the first step in that single story. The opening idea is "Look at this rock." The second is "Here there was once a cave," and the third "in which lived the monster Cacus." It is in the context of these tightly-associated ideas that Vergil uses the word *primum*.

The fragments of the remainder of Callimachus' Anaphe tale,

---

[1] Cf. supra, Intro., pp. 8-9.

[2] Abrupt interjection of a place-reference is a recurring feature in the *Aeneid*; e.g. 1.530 *Est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt*; 6.893 *sunt geminae somni portae*; 8.233, *Stabat acuta silex*; 8.597, *Est ingens gelidum lucus*.

[3] Cf. supra, p. 45, n. 1.

scanty as they are, show how his passion for diversity not only produces stories in series rather than singles, but in addition can subdivide each story into a diverse collection of aitia in its own right. Fr. 9, for example, notes the origin of a colony founded at Corcyra by the Colchians, who still inhabited the place in the poet's day. Polai (Fr. 11), an Istrian settlement, is brought up in passing, in a similar context.[1] The significance of these remarks is that once the poet has let his imagination run loose in searching for questions, the Muse is equally licensed to answer questions which are not asked. And geographical shifting is an effective way in which this pleasant toying with topic after topic can be presented. The contrast to the use of geography by Vergil in the Hercules-Cacus episode is clear.

To pass on from the cave to its denizen, we may observe that the presence of Cacus in Latium is handled in a manner appropriate in this place to Vergil, and in disagreement with Callimachean usage. When an evil, personal or otherwise, appears in the *Aitia*, the reason for its presence, so far as we can tell, is normally mentioned. So, for example, the obnoxious hero who exacted maidenly tribute from the inhabitants of Temese (Fr. 98 and Diegesis) was left in that place by Odysseus' homeward-bound companions. The Nemean lion ravaged Argos, sacred to Hera though that land was, because Hera wished a burden imposed on Herakles (Fr. 55).[2]

No such previous history prepares us for Vergil's Cacus. A scant *Huic monstro Volcanus erat pater* (198) is the only reference to his past; and even that comment is more descriptive than historical, since its purpose is to account for Cacus' fire-breathing apparatus. There is no word on why he is in Latium. As we have seen, this treatment agrees with Vergil's presentation of other characters in the book—especially Saturn, Evander, and Hercules, whose stories are arranged to become part of the story of Latium rather than accounts primarily of themselves.[3] All Evander knows about Cacus is 1) that he was Vulcan's son and 2) that the people

---

[1] Cf. also Frs. 12.4, 15.

[2] Other evil conditions are brought into the *Aitia* in terms of their history—evil conditions, that is, which are traceable to a source other than an individual monster. The fever that overtakes Kydippe, for example (Fr. 75), enters the story because of Akontios' vow. Fr. 110 is a depicting of the plight of the lock, together with the tale of the origin of her plight.

[3] Cf. the remarks on this point supra, Chapter II.

of Latium were saddled with him.[1] This departure from the Callimachean preference for explaining the presence of an evil has a twofold effect. It assists in placing Evander in the "chiaroscuro" position of which we spoke earlier,[2] and it contributes to the separation of the milieux, in company with the geographical device already adverted to. The presence of Cacus is made but a horrible addition to the cave;[3] the latter is our entrance into the world of conflict, and lurking in its shadows we find the evil it holds. The connection of Cacus with Polyphemus the Cyclops, [4] the close identity of the Cyclopes with Vulcan,[5] the nature of Cacus' den, and his character as *semihomo* give him an aura of a γηγενής, despite his stated sonship to Vulcan. One might almost say that the cave itself has been elevated to being the reason for his presence, and one might certainly suggest that this is why any historical background other than his parentage is missing from his portrayal.

200-204

Contrast *nobis . . . optantibus aetas* (200) with the prayer of Jason to Apollo:

σοὶ χέρας ἠέρ]ταζεν, Ἰήιε, πολλὰ δ' ἀπείλει
  ἐς Πυθὼ πέ]μψειν, πολλὰ δ' ἐς Ὀρτυγίην,
εἴ κεν ἀμιχ⌊θαλόεσσαν ἀπ' ἠέρα νηὸς ἐλάσσῃς·

(Fr. 18.6-8)

The inhabitants of Latium are blended out of the foreground on two counts: 1) their prayer is merely alluded to rather than described. 2) In the sentence beginning at line 200, our attention is diverted from the object of their prayers by the use of *aetas*, rather than the responding divine power, as the subject of *attulit*. With the natives' position stated in this way, Hercules is free

---

[1] Contrast the usage of lineage-reference in Fr. 67.5-8, where it is coupled with a reference to place of origin.

[2] Cf. supra, Chapter I, p. 19.

[3] This impression is given not only by the delay in mentioning Cacus, but by the grammar of his introduction, in a subordinate relative clause dependent on *Hic spelunca fuit* (193).

[4] Cf. the resemblance between the present cave and that of Polyphemus at *Aen.* 3.617-619, along with the comments of Münzer, op. cit., p. 31.

[5] Their association is recalled later in this same book (*Aen.* 8.418) when Vulcan goes to his forge.

to arrive and to act in independence, even in ignorance, of the Arcadians or their needs. The effect is reinforcement of the separation of the milieux.

205-267

Our comments on this portion, containing the conflict, are few because Callimachus either chooses his material so as to avoid serious heroic meetings, or deals with such meetings by emphasizing some aspect other than the battle itself. An indication of the former practice is that when conflicts do appear they happen in a minor key; witness the encounter between the peasant and the mice in Fr. 177, or between the ravenous Herakles and the cursing Lindian of Fr. 23. The latter technique is well exemplified by the fragments (54ff.) of the story of Molorchos, in which the exchanges between the hero and his elderly guest seem to take the foreground away from Herakles' slaying of the Nemean lion.

After accepting the enormous disparity of subject-matter between the Callimachean mousetrap-story and the Cacus-myth, we can discover similarities of form; introduction of the key action by a temporal expression (*cum* etc., *Aen.* 8.213; cf. ἀστὴρ δ' εὖτ'] ἄρ' ἔμελλε βοῶν ἄπο μέσσαβα [λύσειν Fr. 177.5), discovery of the enemy's presence through sound (215-218; cf. ἠχήν, Fr. 177-179), and responding counteraction by the hero (219ff.; cf. Fr. 177.11-17ff.). In both there is a reference to the immorality of the offender's act (206; cf. Fr. 177.12f.). The principal differences are 1) the depth and type of emotions roused in the respective protagonists, 2) the presence of comment by the protagonist in Callimachus, but not in Vergil, 3) the switch of craftiness from the hero's side in Callimachus to the villain's in Vergil (*Aen.* 8.205ff. cf. Fr. 177.15ff.), and 4) the non-connection to a religious rite of Callimachus' story, which is apparently the aition for the mousetrap.

It is significant that the expression of moral injustice comes during the central action in Callimachus, and before it in Vergil.[1] The latter poet wishes to depict a massive, simple inner movement which resolves the conflict into a brutal, straightforward encounter between good and evil. Accordingly the indignation that seizes Hercules (*exarserat*, 219) takes complete and instant charge of him.

[1] For Fr. 177 see the citation, infra, p. 63. For the *Aeneid*, note that as soon as the description of his deed began, his dastardly motive was announced (205-206, *ne quid inausum/aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset*).

There is no pause for dwelling on the injustice he has suffered; that is one of the premises of the present action, and now he can proceed in unencumbered rage. Callimachus is not interested in such uncomplicated, one-directional, heroic-scale action. And so the peasant responds to the noise of the mice with a reasoned, soft-voiced complaint:

ọ̔χληροὶ τί π̣ο[τ'|]α̣ὖ γείτονες ἡμέτ̣ε̣ρ̣ον
ἥ̣κατ' ἀποκ̣να[ί|]σοντες, ἐπεὶ μάλα [γ'] οὔ τι φέρο̣[ντες;
(Fr. 177.12-13)

and with an announcement that for such guests as these God has prepared a dire welcome. Where Hercules the totally committed is immersed in his business, Callimachus' peasant is able to see his own actions from the outside, so to speak; and in this respect the two characters reflect their creators. Callimachus' art in the *Aitia* is bound up with his seeing his own stories from the outside. That is the significance of the extensively-used Muse-conversation. Vergil's art in the Hercules-Cacus tale springs from his own involvement in his narrative, and from his concern to portray in brief the motive force behind Rome's rise to greatness, through the paradigm of Hercules' own single-minded, instinctive, awe-inspiring vengeance upon evil. In the myth this striving produces a Hercules who for a time is disconnected from everything personal except his awful determination to right a wrong.

From 8.219 to 8.267, Vergil apparently cannot afford to waste any motion such as subtlety of portrayal would demand. This view is one possible explanation for the picture of the hero at the mercy of a rush of emotion, facing a calculating adversary who begins by perpetrating a ruse worthy of an Olympian,[1] then scurries to safety behind a cunning, wisely-provided barrier,[2] and in the end is done in only by sheer brute force born of teeth-grinding fury.

Herakles' own appearances in the *Aitia* provide us with material for further observation. In Fr. 23, though we are confronted with the comic Herakles, we find him a match for Vergil's creation in exerting forceful action, though on a reduced scale, against a victimized villain. This is indicated in the description of him after the bull-slaying:

---

[1] Cf. Homeric Hymn to Hermes 75.

[2] Contrast the cunning of the villain here with the cunning of the protagonist in Fr. 177.15ff.

ἀστέρα, ναὶ κεραῶν ῥῆξιν ἄριστε βοῶν.'
ὣ]ς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' ἠρᾶτο, σὺ δ' ὡς ἁλὸς ἦχον ἀκούει
Σ]ελλὸς ἐνὶ Τμαρίοις οὔρεσιν 'Ικαρίης,
ἠι]θέων ὡς μάχλα φιλήτορος ὦτα πενιχροῦ,
ὡς ἄδικοι πατέρων υἱέες, ὡς σὺ λύρης
—ἐσσὶ] γὰ̣ρ οὐ μάλ' ἐλαφρός, ἃ καὶ λ̣ι̣.ο̣ς ουσεχελέξ—,
λυ]γρῶν ὡς ἐ̣πέων οὐδὲν̣ [ὀπι]ζ̣ό̣μ[εν]ος

(Fr. 23.1-7)

The poet spells out Herakles' attitude in a variegated string of similes that involve a geographical leap to the Icarian Sea, a pair of aphorisms about lovers and sons, and a return to Herakles himself—the poet reminds him of how he killed his lyre-teacher, as though searching for recollections that ought to pain the hero, to prove the vastness of the latter's unconcern. We are reminded perhaps of 8.219-221 and the *non tulit* of 8.256 in Vergil's account, the chief difference being that in Fr. 23 the emotion of righteous indignation is reduced to comic dimension by the admixture of the emotion of hunger.

The comic Herakles reappears in the doublet of the Lindian episode (Fr. 24); and this time he is moved by his son's hunger, so that his γέλως is mixed with λύπη (24.3). By comparison with the preceding story, he shows here a dull variety of compassion, which moves him to go begging to the farmer for his son's sake. Here as in Fr. 59, the very fact that he speaks sets him off from Vergil's superhuman avenger.

268-305

Vergil's (Evander's) story concludes (*ex illo*, 268) with an expression similar to phraseologies which recur at the end of narratives in Callimachus:

κ̣α̣ὶ̣ τ̣ὰ̣ μὲν ὣ̣ς ἤμελλε μετὰ χρόνον ἐκτελέεσθαι

(Fr. 12.6)

φῆ θεός· οἱ δ' ἀΐοντες ἀπέδραμον, ἐ̣[κ δ' ἔτι κεί]νου
γαῖα τὸν οἰκιστὴν οὐκ ὀνομαστὶ κ̣[αλε]ῖ,
ὧ̣δ̣ε̣ δέ μ̣ι̣ν̣ καλέουσιν ἐπ' ἔντομα δ̣ημ[ι]οεργο̣ί·

(Fr. 43.78-80)

τοὔν]εκεν οὔ πως ἐστὶν ἐ̣π' ὄθμασιν ο[ἷ]σιν ἰδέ[σθ]αι
παρθενι]καῖς Δηοῦς ὄργια Θεσμοφόρου

(Fr. 63.9-10)

ἐκ δὲ γάμου κείνοιο μέγ' οὔνομα μέλλε νέεσθαι·
δὴ γὰρ ἔθ' ὑμέτερον φῦλον Ἀκοντιάδαι
πουλύ τι καὶ περίτιμον Ἰουλίδι ναιετάουσιν,

(Fr. 75.50-52)

In all of the above expressions but the third, the temporal element appears to predominate over the causal. The second and fourth invite our closer attention; because in addition to the temporal emphasis which likens them to Vergil's *ex illo*, they are each accompanied by the adverb ἔτι and a present verb, which parallel the perfect with enduring force (*celebratus* (*est*) (*Aen.* 8.268)) in Vergil. It seems likely, then, that Vergil, in closing the aition, should be following a pattern laid out in Callimachus. It should be noted further that by way of making the device his own he adds the double *semper* (271-272) with a pair of future verbs, which remind the reader of the complex set of time-frameworks within which Vergil is working. [1]

The *semper* idea is not without Callimachean antecedent; in the Molorchos story, especially at Fr. 59.21 (νῦ]ν δ' ἔθ' [ἀ]γι[στείη]ν οὐδαμαπαυσομένην), both the contemporaneity and the permanent destiny of the rites described are referred to. The fact of this combination of presence and permanence, of course, becomes an element that gives profound meaning to the rites in Vergil's account, since historical permanence implies relationship with the reign of Augustus.

The hymn (293-302), besides being a formal liturgical action, reflects the instances in the *Aitia* in which the poet directly addresses parties to the action, such as his comment to Akontios:

οὔ σε δοκέω τημοῦτος, Ἀκόντιε, νυκτὸς ἐκείνης
ἀντί κε, τῆ μίτρης ἥψαο παρθενίης,
οὐ σφυρὸν Ἰφίκλειον ἐπιτρέχον ἀσταχύεσσιν
οὐδ' ἃ Κελαινίτης ἐκτεάτιστο Μίδης
δέξασθαι, ψήφου δ' ἂν ἐμῆς ἐπιμάρτυρες ἐξ̣ε̣ν̣
οἵτινες οὐ χαλεποῦ νήιδές εἰσι θεοῦ.

(Fr. 75.44-49)

The word δοκέω sets the one passage off from the other immediately. Not only is the formality of the Vergilian hymn missing from

[1] The double *semper* takes on added weight when we recall that it echoes an earlier pair at 8.76, when Aeneas promised permanent honor to Tiber.

Callimachus' remarks; in addition we are once again taken to the realm of the Alexandrian's thought, as we were when the Muse said ἐνὶ μνήμῃ κάτθεο in Fr. 7.24. The succeeding lines in Callimachus dwell on the happiness that must have been Akontios' as a result of the action outlined in the aition, through the use of extraneous references that testify to the poet's search for variety. The extraneous references which glorify Hercules in the Aeneidic hymn, though, bear upon and illustrate the virtues which enabled Hercules to overcome Cacus in Latium.

The lines of this hymn provide the only direct address to Hercules in *Aen.* 8.1-369. Confinement of direct address to the hero within these very formal bounds contributes to the separation of the milieux. Hercules is invoked not as the person who partook of their hospitality, but as a deity who transcends them, a fit object for worship.

The conclusion of the hymn, with its constituents of salutation (*salve, vera Iovis proles*, 301), praise (*decus addite divis*, ibid.), and exhortation (*et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo*), finds reflection several times in the Aitia, such as at the address to Herakles in Fr. 23:

⌊χαῖρε βαρυσκίπων, ἐπίτακτα μὲν ἑξάκι δοιά,
ἐκ δ' αὐταγρεσίης πολλάκι πολλὰ καμών⌋

(Fr. 23.19-20)

It is unfortunate that so much of the address contained in these lines is lost; nevertheless these key lines indicate that the attention is on the sheer multiplicity of Herakles' tasks (πολλάκι πολλὰ), whereas in Vergil, feats have been enumerated so that Hercules may be appreciated for what he really is (*vera Iovis proles*). Again the contrast is between variety and distraction in the Alexandrian, reinforcement and cumulativeness in the Roman.

Another parallel is visible in the second of the fragments on the fountains of Argos:

πότνι' Ἀμυμώνη καὶ Φυσάδεια φίλη
Ἵππη τ' Αὐτομάτη τε, παλαίτατα χαίρετε νυμφέων
οἰκία καὶ λιπαραὶ ῥεῖτε Πελασγιάδες.

(Fr. 66.7-9)

Here also, repetition of second-person pronoun or pronominal adjective (4 τεόν, 6 τυ) precede the formulaic conclusion, as in

Vergil (293 *tu,* 294 *tu,* 296 *te, te,* etc.). The elements of salutation (in the names of the fountains), praise (παλαίτατα νυμφέων οἰκία) and exhortation (ῥεῖτε) are distinguishable. Once more, in contrast to Vergil, Callimachus directs our attention to several objects at once, this time in the salutation.

Likewise, in the last lines of the *Aitia,*

χαῖρε, σὺν εὐεστοῖ δ' ἔρχεο λωϊτέρῃ.
χαῖρε, Ζεῦ, μέγα καὶ σύ, σάω δ' [ὅλο]ν οἶκον ἀνάκτων·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν [ἔ]πειμι νομόν.

(Fr. 112.7-9)

the poet addresses two persons, Zeus and someone else,[1] with the salutation-praise-exhortation formula and with the repetition of χαῖρε added. If, as seems probable, Vergil knew the *Aitia,* and if, as the evidence indicates, Vergil added the hymn to the Hercules-Cacus aition, it is most reasonable to propose that he joined aition and hymn at Callimachus' inspiration, and that he attended to the patterns of the *Aitia* in composing the hymn.[2]

362-365

Just as Callimachus emphasized the Herakles-Molorchos relationship in the tale of the slaying of the Nemean lion (Fr. 54ff.), Vergil conversely de-emphasized the *hospes* theme which was a standard part of the background for the slaying of Cacus. Callimachus' Herakles details, in a fairly extended speech, the rites that are to be perpetuated, and concludes in a mutilated portion of the text:

]αρενῳ τοδ[
σ]ὴν κατ' ἐπω[νυμίην.'
]υς τε Μολόρ[χειος
]. θυμὸν ἀρε[σσάμενος,
ν]ύκτα μὲν αὐτόθι μίμνεν, ἀπέστιχε δ' Ἄργος ἐῷος·
οὐδὲ ξεινοδόκῳ λήσαθ' ὑποσχεσίης,
πέμψε δέ οἱ τὸ[ν] ὀρῆα, τίεν δέ ἑ ὡς ἕνα πηῶν.

(Fr. 59.14-20)

---

[1] On the identity of the second addressee, cf. infra, Appendix I.

[2] Eduard Norden, in *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 143-176, outlines the hymn-form as it persists through Greek and Latin literature. The point at hand is that since hymn-form and aition-sequence are so closely related in *Aen.* 8 and in Callimachus' *Aitia,* it is highly likely that Vergil drew his inspiration for the union of the two from Callimachus' work.

The hero's overnight stay is mentioned without comment as one of a series of events. It is preceded and followed by communication between him and Molorchos. In Vergil's account Hercules' rite-establishment is disposed of in two words (*aram statuit*, 271); and we hear nothing suggesting possible warmth between Evander and Hercules before a separate passage (362-365), where Hercules' overnight stay is recalled only for the purpose of showing Aeneas that the humble life should not be beneath him. Geographical centralization characterizes Vergil once again, with a repetition of *hic* (362 *haec*, 363 *haec*) contrasting with the less emphatic αὐτόθι in Fr. 59.18.[1]

As for Vergil's wording, *illum regia cepit* (363) finds verbal parallel in the one-line fragment Δειπνιὰς ἔνθεν μιν δειδέχαται (Fr. 87) from the story of Apollo's killing of the Python. The meagerness of the Callimachean piece allows us only to point to the remarkable likenesses of the two lines both in expression and in position in their respective stories (the town of Deipnias receives Apollo after the killing).

We should conclude this portion of our analysis by observing a larger structural similarity between the Hercules-Cacus episode together with its immediate environment and a sequence found in Callimachus' *Aitia*. The Cacus myth is the first and by far the longest of Evander's aetiological remarks. The scene in which it is told (175-305) is followed by a catalogue of the inhabitants who make up Latium's history up to the time of the Arcadians' arrival. Callimachus follows his telling of the story of Akontios and Kydippe with a catalogue-history of the isle of Keos; the parallels in form between the two catalogues may be seen in Table 2 in the following chapter. To the detailed similarities noted there, we may add the observation that in each case a long aition and a brief catalogue of inhabitants and events are both attributed to the same source, and both deal with the history of the same place. Again the contrast of physical presence versus mental exercise separates Vergil from Callimachus; Aeneas' source is the Arcadian host before him, while Callimachus' is the scholarly tome of Xenomedes.

And in Vergil, the union of principal aition and catalogue is more intimate and meaningful. The rites surrounding the origin-

---

[1] Note the familiarity which Herakles displays to Molorchos at Fr. 57.3: 'ἄττα γέρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πα[ρὼν ἐν δ]αιτὶ μαθήσει, . . .'

story provide the emotional mood in which the catalogue comes; rustic simplicity, the peacefulness of dusk, the satisfactions of a hard but devout life compose the feelings achieved by the time we reach line 310. What follows becomes a sharing of further insight into a land whose blessedness is already gradually becoming apparent to the Trojan visitor. It has seen good and evil times, from the days of the *indigenae* (314) and the Saturnian era, through the *deterior aetas* (326) and the arrival of the fate-directed Evander. The role of the land as receiver of divinely-driven exiles who bring benefits, of which the Hercules-story has already made us aware, is twice repeated in the catalogue. And as we have seen, the heroes of the major aition and of the catalogue are in their turn reflections of the exiled Aeneas.

The appreciation of this close relation between aition and catalogue is deepened by a glance at its Callimachean counterpart. It is difficult to say why the Alexandrian concluded the elegiac love-tale with a resume of the history of Keos unless we keep in mind the tone of the whole *Aitia*. We have referred several times, especially in Chapter I, to the central position of the poet and of his own creative act in the *Aitia*. In this context, the continuation of the Akontios-Kydippe story into the catalogue serves as a further display of the poet's erudition. It bears no relationship of subject-matter to the major aition other than that its contents likewise deal with Keos. It contributes nothing to the atmosphere of the love-tale; in fact it appears calculated to break that atmosphere, couched as it is in the form of a bibliographical footnote, an unlikely ending indeed for a love-narrative. If Vergil took the aition-with-catalogue pattern from Callimachus, then, we can see how remarkably he reshaped it into an instrument for expressing the sanctity of Latium and its character as receiver of noble exiles.

To summarize our conclusions: Vergil, like Callimachus, was interested in character development within the aition, but he pursued it in an entirely different manner. Callimachus brought out his personalities by showing them in conversation and other forms of personal contact, in which nuances of their feelings were available for study. Vergil excised all conversation from the tale, and reduced the movement of feeling described to two opposing, monolithic tendencies, one of good and one of evil. He replaced the loss of personal detail by preparing his audience

imaginatively for the main characters with changes in the geographical background, referred to here as the separation of the milieux, a phenomenon apparently without parallel in Callimachus. As part of this effort to arrange all interest around the heroic-scale conflict for the duration of the tale, Vergil deliberately withdraws coloring or detail from subordinate characters (cf. the remarks above on p. 93), and so has two sets of characters co-existing in the poem but on irreconcilable scales.[1] Again there is no evidence for a Callimachean precedent.

The polemic remark at *Aen.* 8.185ff. indicates how Vergil organizes the dramatic development of his story around the fact of its truthfulness. The abrupt geographical break at 190 orients the reader forward to await the facts surrounding this sudden introduction; the reverse of the Callimachean approach, in which the dramatic backdrop is the sight of the poet telling or hearing the story—which is sometimes told as inextricably one in a series—, and the listener's imagination rather than his physical presence, creates the conditions for the scene. Callimachean art consists in consideration of subject matter from the outside, with constant varying of material, and a unifying element as potentially complex as the poet's own unbridled curiosity. Vergilian art consists in immersion in the story and its importance with careful attachment of its progress to the geographic area in which it occurs (cf. the repetitions of *hic*), and simplification of action by its removal to a heroic plane. Traces of the two poets' working in a common tradition appear at *Aen.* 8.268ff. and 293ff., in which Vergil expresses himself in ways that recur as patterns in the *Aitia*.

[1] G. K. Galinsky (*The Herakles Theme*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1972, p. 146) views Hercules' enraged behavior in the Cacus-myth as proof that "Vergil saw in his hero a human being rather than a super man", and compares Aeneas' anger in battle later in the epic. His appeal to *Aen.* 10.464-465 and the compassionate Hercules is also relevant and perceptive. But he does not appear to provide an explanation for Vergil's manipulation of geography, or for the de-emphasis on human contact with Hercules in the Cacus-slaying and its aftermath, or for other matters discussed in the present chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TIME-ELEMENT

Aeneid 8 occupies a position in a way intrusive in the progress of the epic. The end of book 7 has left us anticipating a continued crescendo toward the beginning of hostilities; and suddenly, by 8.26, we find that we have been prepared for the peaceful night-time scene that is to be the occasion of Tiber's appearance to Aeneas. Conington explains the book as a natural step in the progress toward war that 1) provides Aeneas with an opportunity to obtain allies, and 2) uses Evander as a handy figure for an ally in the legend background. He considers the visit to Rome, the Hercules-Cacus narrative and the summary of Roman topography as natural consequences of Aeneas' visit paid Evander on the spot of the future Rome. But he does not refer to its character as an interruption in the rise to war.[1] Fowler attends to this aspect of the book when he says that:

> Together with the seventh book, it (book 8) serves as quiet preparation for the war and bloodshed that is coming. The poet seems to wish to put off this bloodshed as long as possible. . . [2]

We may take issue with Fowler also, though, in noting that while both books are preparatory to the war, only the latter could be said to describe "quiet" preparation. Pöschl also adverts to the sudden change in his comments on the light-ray simile at 8.18-26.[3]

The book is characterized by two excursions from the heroic present, one into the past (184-369) and one into the future (597-731). These withdrawals are not carefully prepared far in advance as was the withdrawal represented by the katabasis. In that case, Anchises had informed Aeneas (5.724ff.) that he was to pass through the underworld, to *Averna alta*, to the timeless abode of the *tristes umbrae*, and to Elysium. Hence our preparation for the underworld view of the past. The same is true of the future;

---

[1] Cf. Conington's ed. of *Aeneid*, intro. to book 8.

[2] *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (Oxford, 1917), p. 1.

[3] *The Art of Vergil*, tr. G. Seligson (Ann Arbor, 1962), p. 146.

Tum genus omne tuum, Anchises tells Aeneas, *et quae dentur moenia disces* (5.737). This is not true of the past and future excursions of 8. The prodigy of the sow was foretold (3.388ff.); the land Aeneas was seeking was known long before as the place where Tiber flows (2.782); but the telling of Rome's earlier history is not mentioned until the tale itself begins in book 8. And we have no inkling that the future of Rome is to be the subject-matter of the shield until we actually reach the description of the shield itself. We have, then, two dramatic peculiarities in conjunction; the interruption of the battle-crescendo, and the projections into past and future without careful previous preparation. From them, it is clear that the poet wishes to bring about a withdrawal from the narrative of Aeneas' adventures, and that he wishes to do so in a way that makes the time element important.

The above remarks sketch the dramatic relationship of book 8 to the rest of the *Aeneid.* With this background, we can now remark further on the relationship of 8.1-369 to the whole book.

By line 184 the needs of the hour have been forgotten in the celebration of the feast of Hercules. No overt reference to present perils is discernible between 184 and 369. This departure from the action has been prepared by the Tiber-vision, the upriver journey, and the arrival and exchange of greetings at Pallanteum (26-183). During these events, the sacredness of Latium has gradually subdued the feeling of anxiety over the movement of events toward war. The change of feeling is actually introduced by the simile in 18-25, in which the moonbeam, with its suggestion of the coming night-time scene, is brought in to accompany the agitation of Aeneas over fearful immediate concerns. Sleep quiets the hero; then Tiber appears, to perform the function of *curas demere* (35). His opening lines (36-38) turn the hero's attention from the enemy he is about to meet to the land he is in the process of meeting. Then (39-41) the coming struggles are put into the context of the statement *hic tibi certa domus* (39). The next seven lines (42-48) reassure Aeneas further; they offer the proof that Tiber's appearance is genuine, and they concentrate on a topic that has nothing to do directly with the pressing war—the founding of Alba.

Next come Tiber's practical instructions (49-62a), and his formal introduction of himself (62a-65). Even here we are diverted from immediate necessities; actual orders occupy only 4½ lines

of the section (56, 59-61a), and a brief historical *excursus*—with an aition—introduces us to Evander.

In the 41 lines following the dream, present difficulty receives only one brief reference (*accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis*: 73). The upriver journey has a practical purpose, but this is forgotten temporarily (86-101) in favor of the land-Aeneas encounter theme. In 106-171, with the introduction of the Arcadians, a note of agitation is re-introduced, and the impending war returns to the surface. But Pallas' challenge with drawn weapon (110-114) ends the moment he hears the name *Troiugenas* (117, 121). Then Aeneas' very practical speech to Evander (127-151)—even the aition for Graeco-Roman affinity (134-142) has an immediate purpose—is returned by Evander's extended recollection of Anchises' visit (154-168). The last lines of reference to the needs of the hour (169-171) before 369 are thus sandwiched between an extended aside of Evander's and the contemporary banquet. The war-worries, brought through this sequence of intensifications and relaxations, have been completely disposed of for the time being by line 184; we are prepared for the complete plunge, into the past and into a series of actions oriented entirely around the past (184-369), as Table 1 indicates.

At this point we are aware that a confrontation between the Augustan Roman and his past was among the main purposes of *Aeneid* 8, and that Vergil employed the aition to effect this confrontation. Comparison with Callimachus will illustrate how Vergil developed the aition to bring the people of one specific age into the presence of the events of several others.

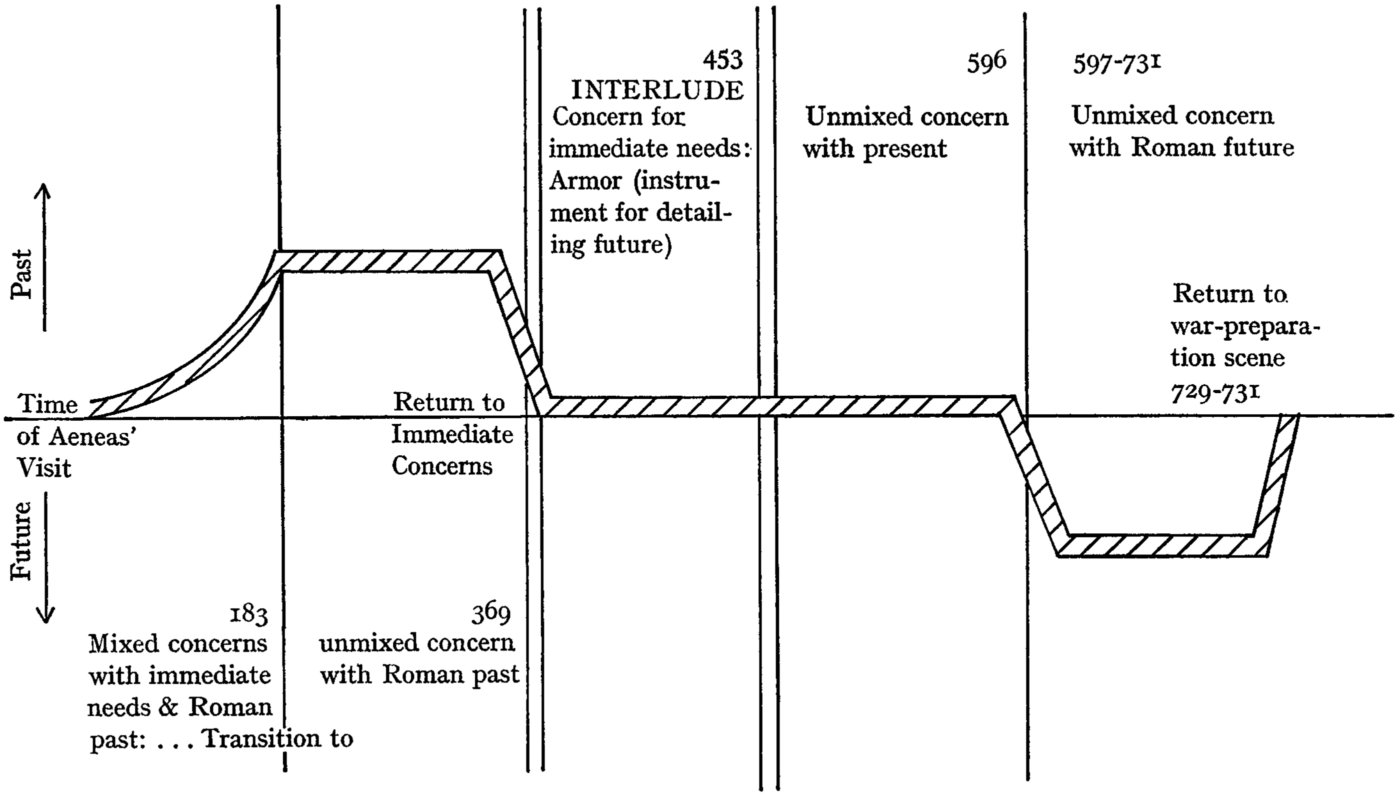
Callimachus had entertained no such purpose in the *Aitia*.[1] Throughout the fragments of that work, we find that the time

---

[1] Despite "his sincere attachment to one of the strongest moving forces of the age, Greek hero-worship, and the natural ties of feeling which bound him for life to his native city Cyrene and its divine founder and lord Apollo" (R. Pfeiffer, *Class. Assoc. Proc.*, 38 (1948), p. 8), there is no indication that either of these influences determined the spirit or the shape of the *Aitia*. Brevity and variety were the essential qualities of the work, as may be gathered from the Prologue, which seems to indicate that the literary qualities of the piece for their own sake took precedence over any other concerns. Thus, even if Schol. Lond. ad Fr. 1, ll. 45-56 (Pfeiffer, *Call.* Vol. I, p. 7) means that Arsinoë was portrayed as a tenth Muse in the *Aitia*, the evidence from Callimachus' text would make this device an absorption of the queen into transcendence rather than a specification of the Muses in time.

TABLE I

Attention to Past, Present, and Future in *Aeneid* 8



of the result is specified only by the assurance that the result comes after the origin-story; and there is no significance in the relationship between the time of the origin-story and the time of its telling or being heard. Nor is the telling of an aition ever suited to an audience of a specific locality or era.

Wherever the evidence is sufficient, we find that this principle holds through all four types of present-aition of aitia found in Callimachus' work, namely a) the conversation-form between poet and informant; b) the straight poet-to-reader narrative; c) the poet-to-participant address; and d) the form in which a participant tells the story.

Form a), the conversation-form, illustrates the principle most clearly. In fragments 3, 7.14ff., 23, 24, 31b, 114, and 178, we find examples of this form in greater or less degrees of completion. These fragments taken together allow us to make the following comments on Callimachus' use of the form in the *Aitia*, with special attention to verb tenses:

1) The listener inquires about a present circumstance, phenomenon, etc.; present tense used.

κῶς δέ, θεαί, .[. . .] μὲν ἀνὴρ Ἀναφαῖος ἐπ' αἰσ[χροῖς
ἡ δ' ἐπὶ δυ[σφήμοις] Λίνδος ἄγει θυσίην,
η. . .τηνε[. . . . . . .τ]ὸν Ἡρακλῆα σεβίζῃ;

(Fr. 7.19-21)

K]ισσούσης παρ' ὕδωρ Θεοδαίσια Κρῆ[σσαν ἑ]ορτὴν
ἡ] πόλις ἡ Κάδμου κῶς Ἁλίαρτος ἄγ[ει

(Fr. 43.86-87)

;]'ναί χρύσεος': 'ἦ κλεαφα[
]ζῶμα μέσον στ[ρέφεται
σκαιῇ μὲν ἔ]χεις χερὶ Κύνθιε τ[όξον,
τὰς δ' ἐπὶ δεξιτερῇ] σὰς⌋ ἰδανὰς Χάριτας;'

(Fr. 114.6-9)

2) The speaker launches into the origin-story, using past tenses:[1]

---

[1] It is admittedly difficult to fit the case of the statue of Apollo (Fr. 114) into this pattern, unless we note that 1) corroboration might be found in the sizeable missing portion of the text, and 2) past tenses referring to origin are found in another parallel instance, namely an address by the poet to a cult-statue (of Hera at Samos; cf. Fr. 100.2).

ἀ̣⌊ρχμενος ὡς⌋ ἥρωες ἀπ' Αἰήταο Κυταίου
αὖτις ἐς ἀρχαίην⌋ ἔπλεον Αἱμονίην

(Fr. 7.25-26)

Ἀλαὸς ὁ μὲν Κύμης ὁ δὲ Χαλκίδος, ὃν Περιήρης
ἤγαγε καὶ μεγάλου λῆμα Κραταιμένεος,
Τρινακρ[ί]ης ἐπέβησα[ν], ἐτείχιζον δὲ πόληα
ἅρπασον ο̣ἰωνῶν οὐχὶ φυλα[σσόμενοι]

(Fr. 43.58-61)

ὣ]ς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' ἠρᾶτο, σὺ δ' ὡς ἁλὸς ἦχον ἀκούει
κτλ.

(Fr. 23.2)

σκῶλος ἐπεί μιν ἔτυψε ποδὸς θέναρ· αὐτὰρ ὁ πείνῃ
θυμαίνων λάχνην στήθεος εἷλκε σέθεν

(Fr. 24.1-2)

οὐδ' ἔτι τὴν Φθίων εἶχεν ἀνακτορίην

(Fr. 184) [1]

3) The speaker comes back to the present in returning to the result of the origin-story.

φῆ θεός· οἱ δ' ἀΐοντες ἀπέδραμον, ἐ̣[κ δ' ἔτι κεί]νου
γαῖα τὸν οἰκιστὴν οὐκ ὀνομαστὶ κ̣[αλε]ῖ,
ὧ̣δ̣ε δέ μ̣ι̣ν̣ καλέουσιν ἐπ' ἔντομα δ̣ημ[ι]οεργοί·

(Fr. 43.78-80)

The fact that much of the evidence for this pattern comes from within the Muse-conversation framework is significant.[2] We know that in this portion the poet, advanced in years, was relating an apparition that had taken place in his youth.[3] Yet as the last fragment cited above shows, the present tense is still usable in the description of the origin-stories' results. The implication is that the poet is concerned with practices so time-honored that to refer the results of these practices to a particular subsequent period would be pointless. The present tense describing the result does not refer primarily to a single specific time; it is used in

[1] This fragment, possibly a reference to Peleus, seems to be part of the Ikian traveler's reply to the poet. Cf. Pfeiffer ad Fr. 184.

[2] Only fragments 114 and 184 of those cited come from outside the Muse-conversation setting.

[3] Here the theory of Pfeiffer, *Call.* Vol. II, p. xxxvi, is followed.

the poet's dramatic description of his experience with the Muses as a young man, and it refers equally well to the time of the poet's old age when the experience is recalled.

Likewise, in form b) (narration, poet to reader), reference is from a past origin-story to a present that needs no specification, or that has no significance of its own other than that it is to this indeterminate present that the result has persisted:

τοὔν]εκεν οὔ πως ἐστὶν ἐπ' ὄθμασιν ο[ἷ]σιν ἰδέ[σθ]αι
παρθενι]καῖς Δηοῦς ὄργια Θεσμοφόρου

(Fr. 63.9-10)

Ἥρῃ τῇ Σαμίῃ περὶ μὲν τρίχας ἄμπελος ἕρπει

(Fr. 101)

δὴ γὰρ ἔθ' ὑμέτερον φῦλον Ἀκοντιάδαι
πουλύ τι καὶ περίτιμον Ἰουλίδι ναιετάουσιν,

(Fr. 75.51-52)

Twice (Fr. 59, Fr. 75.28-31), a participant in the narrated story foretells the result; again in these cases the reference is not to a particular future time of importance, but only to an abiding result.

Poet-to-participant addresses (form c) occur several times. As far as we can determine, the poet's practice in these cases is to picture the participant in the state in which he (or it) finds himself as a result of the aition: [1]

νύμφα Π[οσ]ειδάωνος ἐφυδριάς, οὐδὲ μὲν Ἥρης
ἁγνὸν ὑ⌊φ⌋αινέμενα⌊ι⌋ τῇσι μέμη⌊λε⌋ πάτος
στῆναι [πά]ρ κανόνεσσι πάρος θέμις ἢ τεὸν ὕδω[ρ
κὰκ κεφ[α]λῆς ἱρὸν πέτρον ἐφεζομένας
χεύασθαι, τὸν μὲν σὺ μέσον περιδέδρομας ἀμφίς·

(Fr. 66.2-6) [2]

---

[1] Fr. 75, despite the poet's long address (44ff.) to Akontios, is included under form b), poet-to-reader narrative, which seems to describe best the main character of the whole aition.

[2] The fountain at Amymone is addressed here, with a description of its part in the cult of Hera at Argos. The fragment is too short for us to say whether the cult is aetiologized. The relevant point is Callimachus' portrayal of the character of the fountain in its permanent attitude after the establishment of these rites. Trypanis' translation of οὐδὲ μέμηλε as "nor was it right" is possible; but a gnomic interpretation for the verb seems preferable ("nor is it right"), especially in view of the poet's other use of the form at Fr. 75.34. Cf. also Hom. *Il.* 2.25.

ἄρνες τοι, φίλε κοῦρε, συνήλικες, ἄρνες ἑταῖροι
ἔσκον, ἐνιαυθμοὶ δ' αὔλια καὶ βοτάναι

(Fr. 27)

οὔπω Σκέλμιον ἔργον ἐύξοον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεθμόν
δηναιὸν γλυφάνων ἄξοος ἦσθα σανίς·

(Fr. 100.1-2)

Once more there is attention given to the persistence, but not the specific time, of the result. The same is true in form d) (address by a participant); the Simonidean epitaph, Fr. 64, and the speech of the Pelasgian wall, Fr. 97, may be interpreted consistently with the evidence for the stories enumerated above.[1]

To Vergil, given the poetic form to which he had turned for expressing himself in *Aen.* 8.1-369, it was necessary to relate the aitia to fixed time-points not necessarily identical with that of the origin-stories. Only in this way would it be possible to relate all aitia to a historical framework in which each aition would gain its full meaning. This unified orientation was made possible when 1) all the tellers of aitia were presented within the stream of the narrative to which the aitia belonged (in contrast, e.g., with Callimachus' Muses); and 2) the poet made it clear that he and his readers were living in a day when that narrative had been brought to climax and fulfillment. As a result of these arrangements, two fixed time points—the visit of Aeneas to Rome and the reign of Augustus—became the reference-pivots for all the aitia.

Thus Tiber, into whose words the first aition is put, foretells the cause and the effect of this aition:

Iamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere somnum,
litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus,
triginta capitum fetus enixa, iacebit,
alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati;
[hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum]
ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.

(*Aen.* 8.42-48)

---

[1] Even the *Coma Berenices* (Fr. 110), with its specific reference to the Ptolemaic queen, appears to be made an aition by an appeal to brides in general, an audience temporally or locally unspecified. See Catull. 66.79-88, and comments ad loc. in Pfeiffer (*Call.*, Vol. I, p. 120).

That both origin-story and result should follow dramatically the telling of the aition is a device not found in Callimachus' *Aitia.*[1] There is a suggestion of the idea in the incubation-dream appearance of Apollo to the father of Kydippe in Fr. 75.22ff; but in the latter case Apollo's remarks imply rather than express the result of the story, namely the springing up of the noble Akontiadai which is noted explicitly in Fr. 75.51-52 in the words of the poet. By contrast, Vergil has chosen to have both the origin-story and the result told in the future.

The reason for this mode of treatment is more apparent when we compare the first aition with the second, that of the naming of Pallanteum. This time (8.51-54) the origin-story is given as past and the result as present. The time relations between origin and result are similar to those in the a) and b) forms of Callimachus' *Aitia* mentioned above, with one exception. In Vergil, the perfect verbs *delegere* and *posuere* indicate that the origin-story for Pallanteum is conceived not simply as past, but more specifically as past relative to the time of Aeneas' visit. The aition is part of the river-god's instructions to Aeneas, and the founding and naming of the Arcadian city gets caught up in the chronology of the founding of Rome. Thus Vergil's aition-style differs here from that of Callimachus in that the poet assigns not only the cause but the result to a definite and significant time in the past.[2]

One element common to the two aitia is that they both explain names which bore more significance in ancient Roman history than in Augustan history. Alba was the capital of the early kings; Pallanteum, though relatable to the permanent name of the Palatine, is itself the antiquated name for the site of Rome.[3] The words of the aition are given by a god who has been carefully contrived to represent the past even to Aeneas (cf. his appearance as an old man, his giving voice to the age-long yearning of the *arva Latina*), and the future to which he refers (the day of Alba) is a future that means the old days to the Augustan reader. The reader is compelled to see Alba from a time before Alba; and once

[1] In Fr. 59, the speech referring to the future result (the details of the Nemean Game ceremonies) *follows* the aition-action (the slaying of the Nemean lion and the hospitable reception of Herakles by Molorchos).

[2] In this connection, cf. the earlier remarks (Chapter I, p. 17) on the selection-principle in Callimachus vs. that in Vergil.

[3] Cf. supra, pp. 13-15, for further comments on the air of antiquity surrounding Aeneas' visit.

he has been shifted into the earlier historical setting, he is anchored into it even more firmly by the addition of the aition for the name Pallanteum, which is mentioned in answer to Aeneas' immediate needs, and whose significance also belongs to a bygone age.

This analysis of the function of the first two aitia is borne out by the temporal environment of the aitia which follow, as will now be demonstrated.

The third aition is Aeneas' genealogy-recital.[1] Now we have a new speaker, Aeneas; and again the time at which his speech is given has a crucial meaning.[2] The genealogy is told because Aeneas must have the alliance with the Arcadians. Hence the aition is told partly in perfect tenses, partly in historical presents (134-141), and the result (142) is given in the present—a very specific present, as is indicated by the words *His fretus* (143ff.), etc., in which the Trojan hero refers to the practical, pressing purpose of the aition. The latter, then, is not related to an indiscriminately applicable present as it is in Callimachus' form a) narratives mentioned above. The Vergilian aition-result takes a definable chronological place in the narrative of the *Aeneid*, and hence in the history of Rome.[3]

The Hercules-Cacus aition (184ff.) is next. We have indicated [4] how the story is set and concluded in the celebration held in the heroic present.[5] Thus the aition, told in the past, is past relative to Aeneas' visit. And the speaker, Evander, is another voice

---

[1] The use of a genealogy in an aition recalls, in principle if not in detail, the same usage in Call. Fr. 75.30-37 and 50-52, where, as in *Aen.* 8 genealogical reasons are advanced in forestalling objections to an alliance.

[2] Note the comparison between the analysis presented here and that found in Chapter I supra, on Speaker and Listener. There, we concerned ourselves with the Tiber-Aeneas and Evander-Aeneas relationships, and we indicated how each was a relationship between a revealer and a receiver of a revelation. In this chapter our purpose is to show what viewpoint-shifts the poet effected while narrating these relationships. Aeneas' genealogy-aition, then, has a slightly different significance in this latter analysis. Likewise, the reference which we shall make presently to a voice of the future (the poet's in 337-350) does not affect our remarks in Chapter I on Tiber and Evander as the only two speakers who address Aeneas. Lines 337-350, although introducing commentary by a voice which belongs explicitly to a later age, are nonetheless basically part of the Evander-Aeneas encounter.

[3] See further on the function of the genealogy, supra, in Intro., p. 3, n. 2.

[4] Cf. supra, pp. 42f., 82ff. *Aen.* 8.184ff., 268ff.

[5] Note that the term "heroic present" is used to refer to the time of Aeneas, visit.

TABLE 2

Major Aition and Historical Catalogue in Callimachus and Vergil

Callimachus, Aitia Fr. 75.50-77	*Vergil, Aeneid 8*
ἐκ δὲ γάμου κείνοιο μέγ' οὔνομα μέλλε νέεσθαι·	268 Ex illo celebratus honos. . .
δὴ γὰρ ἔθ' ὑμέτερον φῦλον Ἀκοντιάδαι πουλύ τι καὶ περίτιμον Ἰουλίδι ναιετάουσιν,	283-302 (Direct address to hero of the major aition.)
Κεῖε, τεὸν δ' ἡμεῖς ἵμερον ἐκλύομεν τόνδε παρ' ἀρχαίου Ξενομήδεος, ὅς ποτε πᾶσαν νῆσον ἐνὶ μνήμῃ κάτθετο μυθολόγῳ,	310 Miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum Aeneas capiturque locis et singula laetus exquiritque auditque virum monumenta priorum. Tum Rex Euandrus, Romanae conditor arcis; (Source of information introduced; teller and receiver of information focused upon.)
ἄρχμενος ὡς νύμφῃσι[ν ἐ]ναίετο Κωρυκίῃσιν, τὰς ἀπὸ Παρνησσοῦ λῖς ἐδίωξε μέγας,	314 Haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant.
Ὑδροῦσσαν τῷ καί μιν ἐφήμισαν, ὥ̣ς τ̣ε Κιρῴ̣[δης .]ο̣. . θ̣υσ̣[.]τ̣ο̣ ᾤκεεν ἐν Καρύαις· ὥ]ς τέ μιν ἐννάσσαντο τέων Ἀλαλάξιος αἰεί Ζεὺς ἐπὶ σαλπίγγων ἱρὰ βοῇ δέχεται	319 Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo, arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exul ademptis. (fugitive immigrant)
Κᾶρες ὁμοῦ Λελέγεσσι, μ̣ε̣τ̣' οὔνομα δ' ἄλλο βαλ̣έσ̣θ̣[αι Φοίβου καὶ Μελίης ἶνις ἔθηκε Κέως·	322 Latiumque vocari maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris. (Naming of the land through a fugitive inhabitant.)
ἐν δ' ὕβριν θάνατόν τε κεραύνιον, ἐν δὲ γόητας Τελχῖνας μακάρων τ' οὐκ ἀλέγοντα θεῶν ἠλεὰ Δημώνακτα γέρων ἐνεθήκατο δέλτ[οις καὶ γρηῢν Μακελώ, μητέρα Δεξιθέης, ἃς μούνας, ὅτε νῆσον ἀνέτρεπον εἵνεκ' ἀλ[ι]τ̣[ρῆς ὕβριος, ἀσκηθεῖς ἔλλιπον ἀθάνατοι·	326 deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas et belli rabies et amor succesit habendi (Dire times follow earlier origins.)
	329 saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus. (Explicit reference to metonomasia.)
	330 tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris, a quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Thybrim diximus. . . (Attachment of an important and permanent name.)
	335 his posuere locis matrisque egere tremenda Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo. (Events manifesting divine anger and providence.)
τέσσαρας ὥς τε πόληας ὁ μὲν τείχισσε Μεγακ[λ]ῆς Κάρθαιαν, Χρυσοῦς, δ' Εὔπ[υ]λος ἡμιθέης εὔκρηνον πτολίεθρον Ἰουλίδος, αὐτὰρ Ἀ̣κα̣ῖ̣[ος Ποιῆσσαν Χαρίτων ἵ̣δ̣ρυμ' ἐυπλοκάμων, ἄστυρον Ἄφραστος δὲ Κορή[σ]ιον, εἶπε δ̣έ̣, Κ̣ε̣ῖ̣ε̣, ξυγκραθέντ' αὐταῖς ὀξὺν ἔρωτα σέθεν πρέσβυς ἐτητυμίῃ μεμελημένος, ἔνθεν ὁ π̣α̣[ι]δ̣ός μῦθος ἐς ἡμετέρην ἔδραμε Καλλιόπην.	333-336 (Callimachus connects catalogue and major aition only through their common literary source; Vergil connects them historically, bringing the catalogue down to the day of Evander and thus of Hercules' visit.)

of the time of that visit; in this respect he contrasts with Tiber, the voice of the pre-heroic past.

Next comes the series of aitia contained in Evander's historical sketch of Rome, which cannot be dealt with adequately except through a summary of the parallels between *Aen.* 8.314-336 and Call. Fr. 75.50ff., the brief history of Keos. These are outlined in the accompanying Table 2.

As was noted earlier,[1] the scholar devoid of poetic soul might point out curiously that the source for Evander's knowledge of early Latium is rather a mystery, since he can trace the land's history back to the tree-trunk people though he is a newcomer. We have already pointed out a possible esthetic reason for Vergil's allowing Evander such unaccounted-for knowledge.[2] Here we wish to add a suggestion of a possible literary precedent for the historical-resumé-with-aitia setting.

The parallels between 75.50ff., and *Aen.* 8.314-336 may be seen on the accompanying table (Table 2). The closest parallels are the early presence of nymphs, the introduction of the earliest name through fugitive inhabitants, explicit reference to metonomasia, mention of the king of the gods and of Apollo, the attachment of a permanent name by a later inhabitant, and the inclusion of a woman, a mother, with special divine favor in the presence of divine displeasure.

This analysis does not pretend to suggest that Vergil's subject-matter was influenced by that of Fr. 75. What seems far more plausible is that the concept of a brief historical sketch of a place, containing aitia and following a long local aition which deals with that place, came to Vergil—mediated, perhaps, but more probably immediately—from the aetiological artistry of Callimachus. This suggestion appears to be supported by the similarity in shape of the passages compared. From this point of view, it will be both valid and fruitful to comment on the change in the employment of the concept from Callimachus to Vergil. This change is most easily described within the context of the present discussion of the time element.

The passage from Fr. 75 analyzed above is technically an address from the poet to Akontios. As suggested for other Callimachean

[1] Cf. supra, Chapter II, pp. 18f., on Evander's unexplained source of knowledge.
[2] Ibid.

aitia, the poet is speaking to the participant as one whom the results of the aition have already affected—as already the husband of Kydippe and the progenitor of the Akontiadai (cf. esp. Fr. 75.44-53). The aition is over and done with. The results are facts without special relationship of their own to any point or series of points in history other than that of the time of the origin-story. This is shown in a close look at Callimachus' imaginative description of how he got the story; Kalliope heard it from Xenomedes the historian, and passed it on to the poet. Though this is a fanciful way of saying the poet read Xenomedes, the expression in the dramatic context given contains a further idea, which affects the contents of the historical sketch in Fr. 75. 50ff., as well as the Akontios-Kydippe myth itself. The expression implies that Xenomedes' history is absorbed dramatically into the body of material known to the detached, atemporal Muses. Hence its aition-results are as much in force when Kalliope vouchsafes them to the poet as when the poet passes them on to the reader. [1] And a curiously objective vantage point is achieved by the injection of a bibliographical reference at the end of a love story in elegiacs—a vantage point comparable to that which the Prologue of the *Aitia* affords, from which the poet is displayed observing and reflecting on his own art. It is certainly by design that the Telchines (cf. Prol., Fr. 1.1,7) are mentioned here (Fr. 75.65) as well as in the Prologue, and perhaps significant that the name occurs nowhere else in the fragments of the *Aitia*. Thus Callimachus uses the historical resumé to create a perspective "from the outside" of the events with which that resumé itself is concerned.

Vergil, in *Aen.* 8.314-336, takes the brief history and puts it into the mouth of one of the makers of that history. What is more, the story is told on the spot of its happening and at a time that is itself crucial to that history. The details in 314-336 are historically oriented before their recital has begun.

The character of the *fauni nymphaeque* (314) as spirits closely identified with the land is of a piece with the literally indigenous people born from tree-trunks; together these early inhabitants

[1] On this topic note the use of *αἰεί* at *Call.* Fr. 75.60 and its indeterminate meaning in contrast, for example, to *semper* in *Aen.* 8.271-272, which not only reflects glory upon Rome and reminds the Augustan reader of a rite of his day, but in addition augurs permanence for Rome as well as for the rite.

present us once again with the feeling that the land is alive.[1] We cannot help thinking of Tiber's articulation (*Aen.* 8.36-38) of the age-long travail of the *arva Latina*, in which he—a body of water—had obviously taken part. (And Tiber, of course, is the connecting link between Aeneas and the latter's present interlocutor Evander). Thus, the early, living land is related to a later era in which the life of the land had a purpose fulfilled, in the coming of New Troy to answer its desires. And it is into this chronological pattern that the fauns, nymphs, and the tree-born race are fitted.

The first comer names the land; Saturn calls it Latium. Likewise in Callimachus the Korykian nymphs' visit results in the name Hydrussa. But Saturn, as *primus* of visitors, is a member of tradition, as we have seen.[2] He is the first of three minor variations on the grand theme of the divinely-driven exile that culminates in the coming of Aeneas. Thus, as model of Aeneas and first civilizer of Latium, Saturn relates to the whole frame work of Roman history.

It is at best highly unlikely that the Korykian nymphs of Call. Fr. 75.56f. bear a similar orderly relationship to the history of Keos as sketched by the poet. This seems true especially since the whole history of Keos is brought in by the poet only as referring to the place of origin of Akontios, the subject of the major aition of the piece.[3]

The *deterior aetas* (326) follows Saturn's rule; and we are made aware that in Evander's speech the poet is thinking in terms of historical relationships among events. Time-orienting words punctuate the entire sequence 314-336 regularly (*donec,* 326; *successit,* 327; *tum,* 328; *tum,* 330; *primus,* 319; *saecula,* 325). The years of chaos are fixed after Saturn and before Evander. Time thus receives an importance not discernible in Callimachus' Keos resumé. There, after the use of ἀρχμενος in reference to Xenomedes' account of the coming of the nymphs, chronological concern is perhaps in evidence—the progression from earliest

---

[1] The artistic difference is noteworthy between Callimachus' saying that the nymphs were chased to Keos (Fr. 75.56) and Vergil's simply calling the fauns and nymphs *indigenae.* It is clear from the contrast, and from the link of the fauns and nymphs with the tree-born men, that Vergil means to emphasize the living character of the land.

[2] On Saturn's parallels with the other travelers to Latium in book 8, cf. supra, Chapter II.

[3] We cannot be sure what is the relation of the Korykian nymphs to the next item in the sequence in Fr. 75, owing to the damaged text.

dwellers to the arrival of peoples to times of direct divine intervention (64-69) to the founding of cities (70ff.) sounds chronological enough—but it is certainly not relevant to the structure of the whole piece or given any degree of emphasis. The emphasis is on Xenomedes' telling: "And your story, Akontios, we heard from Xenomedes, who set down once the (story of the) whole island, beginning with *how* (ὡς, 56) Korykian nymphs dwelt here-whence the name Hydrussa-. . . . (and telling) *how* (ὡς, 60) the worshipers of Zeus Alalaxios, Carians and Leleges, dwelt here, and (δ', 62) Keos son of Phoebus and Melia caused (the island) to take another name; and (δ', 64) he (Xenomedes) set down (in writing) arrogance, death by thunder, Telchines, foolish Demonax who disregarded the gods, old Makelo whom alone together with Dexithea the gods spared *when* (ὅτε, 68) they overturned the island; and *how* (ὡς, 70) Megakles, etc. founded the four cities Karthaia, etc., o Akontios; and (δέ, 74) he told your love mixed in with these things, whence the story of the child (Kydippe) came to our Kalliope." This is an abbreviated paraphrase of 53-77 illustrating the point. The dramatic framework "O Akontios, Xenomedes told. . ." governs the passage. The only word after ἀρχμενος (56) expressing a time-relationship is ὅτε (68), which merely puts the saving of Makelo and Dexithea at the time of the "over-turning" of the island; it thus refers to one event without relating this event to any other. But the chronological relation of the main Akontios-Kydippe tale to the other items is most telling. It does not follow them; it has merely been written down together with them.

To turn to the Vergilian passage: Evander, narrator of and participant in the major Hercules-Cacus aition which precedes the historical sketch, is brought into the latter as the principal figure in the latest era of a chronological series (*Aen.* 8.333-336); thereby he acts as a chronological link in the process begun with Saturn, continuing through Aeneas, and coming to fulfillment (cf. the shield sequence later) in Augustus. Because of Evander's position, the narration of the aition and history creates a dramatic framework of involvement rather than detachment.

The shift at 337 from Evander in dialogue to poet in straight narrative represents an alteration in the temporal situation of the speaker, and the poet makes the most of the fact: [1]

[1] On the relation between the present analysis and the Speaker-Listener analysis in Chapter I, supra, cf. supra, p. 80, n. 2.

... progressus monstrat et aram
et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam
quam memorant ....

(337-339)

Vergil deliberately words the showing of altar and gate so that the Romans see it from their own day. This is indicated especially in the use of the present *memorant*. Such an interpretation of the poet's intention is reinforced by the three succeeding aitia—that for the name *Asylum* (which was given by Romulus, hence subsequent to Evander), and those for the names *Argiletum* and *Lupercal* (in which cases there is no statement that the names were actually given by Evander).

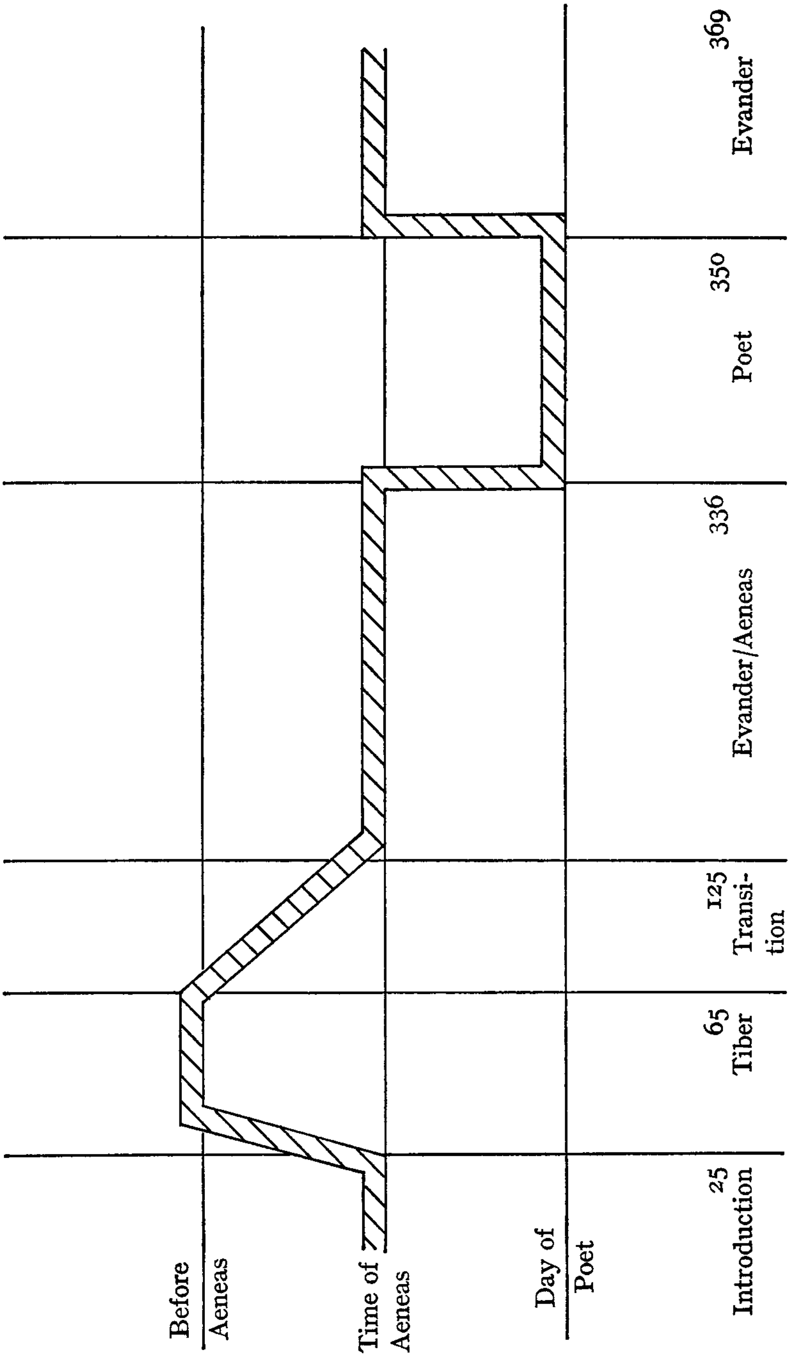
The Augustan present is once again referred to, explicitly this time, when the Capitol is approached (*aurea nunc*, 348; *iam tum*, 349, 350). The Capitol's first temporal introduction is through the *nunc* (348); the time of Evander (*iam tum*, 349) is brought in afterwards merely as a comparison point for the later period; hence for the moment the heroic present recedes in importance before the Augustan present. That the *nunc* is more specific than the references to the "indeterminate present" found in result-sections of Callimachus' *Aitia* (e.g. at Fr. 59.21, Fr. 43.78-80) is appreciable mainly because: 1) the aitia of book 8 have been put into a historical framework; and the time of Augustus is defined as the climax in that framework, notably at the end of book 6 and the end of book 8, in the show of heroes and the shield scene respectively. In view of the importance of Augustus in the *Aeneid*, it would seem harder to take *nunc* after the fashion of a general Callimachean "now" than as a specific reflection on the poet's own day. 2) As we have pointed out, involvement of the reader in the subject-matter of the aitia is one of Vergil's purposes not having precedent in Callimachus' *Aitia*.[1] The reader becomes personally affected by the cause-effect chain which aitia and results express; thus the *nunc* has a cause-effect impact on Vergil's Roman audience, and the audience is specified or identified in a strikingly non-Callimachean way.

And so the shift to a voice from the Augustan age, that of the poet, at 337 makes it clear that the time of Augustus, like the time

[1] Cf. supra, Chapter I.

Table 3

Temporal Position of Speakers who Relate Aitia: *Aen.* 8.1-369



of Aeneas' arrival, is a fixed point to which the aitia of 1-369 refer. We now have a somewhat clearer picture of the function of the aitia. To Aeneas they are revelations. To the Roman reader they are an expansion on known phenomena—as would be expected in aitia—but they are in addition placed in a sequence in which historically successive voices (first Tiber, then Aeneas and Evander, finally the poet) give the details. Vergil has appropriated the Callimachean idea of a multiplicity of speakers and added a chronological-historical interrelationship to them. By doing this, and by introducing two fixed time-points to which the aitia, whenever they happen, are referred, he has given historical integration to the aition.

In analyzing the conclusion of the section (351-369), we see corroboration of the scheme outlined above and shown in the accompanying diagram (Table 3).

At 351 Vergil shifts back to Evander's addressing Aeneas, and once again—for the last three aitia of the piece—our viewpoint is from the day of Aeneas' visit, as it was in 314-336. The first of the aitia is a bridge from the viewpoint of the poet-narrative of 337-350, within which it begins (cf. 347-350). It contains a description of the supernatural phenomena which are to lead to the erection of the sanctuary of Jupiter on the Capitol; but it does not detail the result. The last two aitia—for the names Janiculum and Saturnia—are also considered in this temporal relationship to Evander, and are explicitly said to have been given their names already before his time (358). In view of our remarks about the coming to rest of the action by 369 in the heart of Arcadian Latium,[1] this return from the Augustan to the heroic-present viewpoint is not startling at all.

To summarize our findings: There is a progression in *Aen.* 8.1-369 manifested in the succession of speakers of aitia. Tiber (voice of the past) begins the process whereby we are led away from immediate political concerns, and toward concentration on the pre-Aeneas past. Aeneas and Evander (voices of the heroic present) exchange words which lead to the complete plunge into non-Latin war matters extending from 184-369. In that section, Evander's conversation continues until the poet (voice of the Augustan present) narrates personally, adverting to aitia of the past from

[1] Cf. infra, Chapter V, on the Dream-Framework.

the Augustan vantage point. After his narration Evander begins speaking again, and the action is once again seen from heroic Latium, where it comes to rest at 369. The aitia of Rome are told by speakers of three ages and referred to two pivotal historical points, and the aition becomes a vehicle for poetic expression of a connected history with a unified, solemn meaning.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DREAM-FRAMEWORK

Thus far, we have proceeded from the basic observation that *Aen.* 8.1-369, like the *Aitia* of Callimachus, contains a sequence of aetiological tales. We have gone on to study, in three of the preceding four chapters, three topics in which the similarities and differences of the two works might be most perceptible; the speaker-listener setting, the traveler-motive, and the use of the time-element. A fourth topic invites treatment when we notice that a prominent role is played in each of the two pieces by a dream. The Muse-conversation takes place within a dream-apparition, as far as we can determine; and the epigrammatist of *Anth. Pal.* 7.42 appears to call the *Aitia* as a whole an ὄνειαρ. Further details on the dream-setting may be found in the chapter above on Speaker and Listener. In Vergil, the first two aitia are parts of a dream-revelation, and the dream-appearance of Tiber plays a key role in the entire sequence of events between *Aen.* 8.26 and 369, as we hope to show presently. The questions which we shall pursue in this chapter are: 1) To what extent and in what way, if at all, can the Callimachean and Vergilian use of the dream with aitia be related to one another? 2) In what ways does Vergil's employment of the dream-framework in a sequence of aitia differ from that of Callimachus?

We should begin the first part of this inquiry with a somewhat fuller description of just how each poet uses the dream-device. For the *Aitia,* our knowledge in this matter is limited. The principal items of evidence are Fr. 2, Fr. 112, the parts of the *Aitia* in which fragments of the poet-Muse conversation are preserved, the Florentine scholium, lines 16ff., to Fr. 2, and *Anth. Pal.* 7.42.

The last-named source, speaking of the *Aitia* as it does, suggests that the ὄνειαρ dominates the work in some degree. The poet's dream, it says, was one of horn and not of ivory; for it revealed things unseen by men concerning the immortals and the demigods when it carried him from Libya to Helicon and the presence of the Pierides, who in answer to his questions replied with the origin-stories of heroes and the blessed gods. The Florentine summary

of Fr. 2[1] supports the epigram; there also we find reference to a dream, to companionship with the Muses on Helicon, and to the receiving of origin-stories by the poet. The detail of the youthful age of the poet is added. From these external sources alone we may recognize a connection between Callimachus' experience and that of Hesiod in the beginning of the Theogony; the Boeotian was visited by the Muses at night while tending his flocks on Helicon. Although it is not certain whether Hesiod's encounter took the form of a dream, he and the Alexandrian are both pictured as having mystical Heliconian meetings with the Muses in which their status as poets is confirmed and revelations concerning origins are granted to them. That Callimachus had Hesiod in mind is made certain when we find that the Ascraean is mentioned in Fr. 2 of the *Aitia.* From the similarities between the experiences of the two poets, it is highly probable that Fr. 2 accompanied Callimachus' description of the opening of his own Heliconian encounter. This likelihood is increased by the fact that Fr. 2 is part of the passage which immediately follows the Prologue.[2] Subsequent passages such as Frs. 3, 7.19ff., and 43.56, which contain parts of the conversation between poet and Muses, are most logically explainable as the working out of this encounter. Fr. 43 indicates that the conversation of this encounter reached at least into book 2 of the four books of the *Aitia.*[3] It is safe to say, then, that the influence of the dream in the structure of the *Aitia* is substantial.

The total extent of the dream's domination is another matter. It is rather certain that not all the origin-stories of the work are contained within the Muse-conversation framework. This is indicated best by Fr. 178, in which the poet describes a dinner-meeting of his own with a traveling stranger from Ikos at the home of an Athenian expatriate. Fr. 100, apparently containing an address by the poet to a statue of Hera, likewise does not seem to fit the conversation-framework which we have been discussing.[4]

---

[1] Cf. Pfeiffer, *Call.*, Vol. 2, p. 11.

[2] The evidence for the placement of Fr. 2 is Schol. Flor. (PSI 1219) 1-20. There the discussion of the Prologue (1-15; cf. Pfeiffer, *Call.*, Vol. I, p. 3) is followed by reference to Callimachus' experience with the Muses on Helicon (16-20) (Pfeiffer, p. 11). A. Kambylis (*Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg, 1965), pp. 89ff.) treats the matter in detail.

[3] For the evidence which places Fr. 43 in book 2 of the *Aitia* cf. Pfeiffer, (*Call.*, ad Fr. 43.12-17).

[4] On theories of the structure of the *Aitia,* cf. supra, p. 12, n. 2.

Yet there is more to say about the dream-encounter's influence. The concluding fragment of the *Aitia* (Fr. 112) refers explicitly back to Fr. 2 and to Hesiod's experience. Does this mean that the conclusion of Callimachus' own dream-experience is saved until the end of the *Aitia*? Is it permissible to surmise once again that the reference to Hesiod on Hippokrene accompanied a further description of Callimachus' own rendezvous with the Muses? We cannot be certain. It is quite probable that in the vicinity of Fr. 112 Callimachus referred once again to his own dream in some way, and it is not impossible that he actually waited until the end of the *Aitia* to write the dream's conclusion. If, as the evidence strongly suggests, the goddess and city-patron Cyrene is the first of the two persons addressed by the poet in Fr. 112,[1] we are reminded that the departure-point for the poet's mystical journey to Helicon was "Libya" (*Anth. Pal.* 7.42), which may mean Cyrene. And it would be natural for the dream to come to an end with a return to Libya.

The dream, then, played a major role in the *Aitia*. It was the unifying framework for several origin-stories of the first two books; it provided the setting in which the poet played a prominent role as transmitter of information to the reader; it apparently opened the aetiologies of the work; it was probably either referred to or brought to a close at the end of the work; and it caused the epigrammatist to refer to the whole work as an ὄνειαρ. If we have established in earlier chapters that Vergil took inspiration from other elements of the *Aitia*, we should certainly investigate the possibility that so important an element as the dream of Callimachus had its effect in *Aeneid* 8.

In turning to Vergil, we should begin, as we did with Callimachus, by detailing more fully how the dream was used. In itself, the apparition of Tiber covers only 42 lines (26-67); but its close association with the entire sequence 26-369 invites further consideration of its influence, especially by comparison to the other uses of the dream in the *Aeneid*.[2]

Lines 18-25 are preparatory to the dream. They describe Aeneas' worry, but they also link the pressing needs of the hour with the imminent night-apparition through the addition of the moon to

---

[1] Cf. infra, Appendix I, for the arguments favoring Cyrene as the first of the addressees of Fr. 112.

[2] Cf. infra, p. 92, n. 2.

Apollonius' version of the light-ray simile.[1] As in lines 1-17, though, war-threats set the tone. This is no longer true from line 26 onward.

Tiber's words (36-65) in the dream may be summarized as follows:

36-38		Address: Aeneas described as the new founder of Troy in Italy.
39-41		Information: The sought-after place is reached.
	42-48	Aition (Alba), referring to future: corroboration of dream. Ascanius a κτίστης
49-50		Reference to present difficulty.
	51-54	Aition (Pallanteum), referring to the past.
55-56		Relevance of the Arcadians to the present crisis; Aeneas is instructed to approach them.
57-58		Tiber promises help.
59-62a		Further instructions.
62b-65		Conclusion; Tiber identifies himself.

The return of Troy to Italy is the dominant theme. Aeneas is approached as the agent of the return, and is tendered the warmest of welcomes through Tiber upon his arrival. Two other city-founders, Ascanius and Evander, set off the principal κτίστης whose story is now taking place; Ascanius' city is to be made possible by Aeneas' efforts, and Evander's is to be given its importance through the arrival of the followers of Aeneas (cf. 340-341). Hence the aitia in the dream-address contrast the founders with the Founder.

The dream ends; *nox Aenean somnusque reliquit* (67). The hero faces the sun and raises his hands, with river water in the hollows of his palms (68-69). He addresses Tiber and the Laurentine nymphs, begs assistance (73, 78), and promises honors (74-77).

Aeneas' immediate reply to Tiber effects a continuity of communication between dreamer and appearer unexampled elsewhere among the many dream-appearances in the *Aeneid.*[2] On two other occasions there is a reply from dreamer to appearer after the dream. At 4.576ff., Aeneas answers Mercury's orders to quit

---

[1] Cf. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1964): p. 333.

[2] A useful discussion in this connection is Hans Steiner, *Der Traum in der Aeneis,* Noctes Romanae, Heft 5 (Stuttgart, 1952). Steiner notes (p. 8) that Vergil's dependence on the dream as a device is far heavier than Homer's.

Carthage: *Sequimur te, sancte deorum*...(576). But the continuity between Mercury's words and Aeneas' response has been broken by Aeneas' commands to his companions at 573-576.

In the other instance (5.721ff.), Anchises appears to Aeneas to assure him of Jupiter's protection. He advises the splitting of the Trojan company in Sicily and foretells the Latin wars, the descent to Hades, and the imminent reunion of father and son. There is no attempt to establish a mood in the dream which carries over into what follows. Aeneas' response (*Quo deinde ruis? .../Quem fugis? Aut quis te nostris complexibus arcet?*; 741-742) has nothing to do with the content of Anchises' speech; and it is only after this anguished plea and the offering of a sacrifice that he sets about following Anchises' instructions.

Aeneas' reply in book 8 (68-78), on the contrary, marks the beginning of a closely-knit series of links between the dream and what follows it. The gesture of the lifted hands bearing water, besides being a common ritual, is used here to emphasize that Tiber exists in Latium as well as in the dream. His presence is a a carry-over into the land itself from the dream-scene; and this is one of the reasons for the special atmosphere that permeates subsequent events.

A scant three lines later the next link comes upon the scene dramatically (*subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum*, 81) [1]—the promised sow. Lines 42ff. are thus fulfilled. Whereupon Aeneas sacrifices the animal to Juno (84-85), fulfilling Tiber's injunction of lines 59ff., and another reference is made back to the dream.

The line between dream-apparition and events following the waking of Aeneas is blurred by these means. The effect is continued (86ff.) through the journey upriver by the treatment of Tiber the river as a benign living creature, with implicit reference back to his personal promise of aid given in the dream (57-58). Thus communication between Tiber and Aeneas, begun in the dream is carefully preserved until 97-101; and there we find another major reference back to the dream; in the arrival of the Trojans at Pallanteum according to the god's directions. It is in this dream-affected milieu that Evander meets Aeneas.

And from line 101 onward, the influence of Tiber is still operative.

---

[1] Note also that *procubuit* (8.83) recalls the same form in the same position at the beginning of the line (8.30) used to describe Aeneas' lying down before the dream.

1) In making the alliance with Evander, Aeneas carries out another of the god's instructions, leaving only the injunction *mihi victor honorem/persolves* (61-62) unfulfilled. 2) It was Tiber who had put war-worries into the background by his appearance. The process by which they gradually recede is still continuing until line 172, at which point they are completely forgotten for nearly 200 lines. 3) We are reminded in Aeneas' speech that it was Tiber who has led him to Evander (*me . . . sancta oracula divom/ . . . / coniunxere tibi*; 131-133). Hence what Aeneas learns from Evander is a part of the revelation that began with Tiber's appearance. And so, the influence of the dream is felt until 369, at which point the feeling the dream created is broken abruptly by the turning of attention (370) to Vulcan and Venus which follows the bedding down of Aeneas and Evander.

What we have said already should be ample proof that the emotional tone of Tiber's appearance (36-67) is carried into Aeneas' waking experiences. We can solidify the case further by reference to the dream-appearance of Allecto to Turnus (7.406ff.). In that instance also Vergil portrays a passion aroused in a dream, and shows the impact of this passion in the waking world after the dream is over. Allecto, disguised as Calybe the priestess of Juno, tries to goad Turnus into violence against the Trojans (421-434), but he rebukes her (436-444). Furious, she reveals her hideous self and buries a torch in his breast (445-457). *Olli somnum ingens rumpit pavor* (458); the warrior goes to Latinus in a rage and demands war. Immediately after (475), our attention is turned to Allecto stirring up trouble elsewhere.

A comparison of what follows the Allecto-vision and the Tiber-vision is revealing. 1) Allecto's dream-appearance does not introduce a new mood; it is preceded by the repulsive monster's maddening of Amata (341ff.). Tiber's visitation, however, marks a subsidence of war-fears and a calming of Aeneas.[1] 2) We first meet the river-god in the dream; Allecto is known to us already. Tiber's appearance, unlike Allecto's, is a revelation both to the dreamer and to the reader. 3) Only a few lines immediately following the dream-appari-

[1] Cf. especially the last line before Tiber's speech, *tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis* (35). Here the line is used with much more truth than it was in its two previous appearances (2.775, 3.153); on those occasions it preceded the vision of Creusa, who left the hero weeping (2.790), and the apparition of the Trojan penates, who left him in a cold sweat (3.175).

tion in book 7 (460-474) contain action directly attributable to the influence of the dream; at 475 a different instigation of Allecto's, the arranging of the death of Lavinia's stag at Ascanius' hands, is focused upon. There is no extended multiplying of associations with the dream such as we have seen in book 8. 4) The dialogue between Allecto and Turnus all takes place within the dream in book 7. After the dream the Latin hero exits driven by the fury; but dialogue is not used to link the dream with the non-dream world as in book 8. To summarize, the effect of the comparison is to corroborate our theory that in book 8 an atmosphere created in a dream-scene is carefully perpetuated in the events following the dream. In this respect the Tiber-vision of book 8 is unique among the dreams of the *Aeneid*, being most closely approximated by the appearance of Allecto.

It is at least remarkable that the passage dominated by the dream in *Aen.* 8 should coincide with the limits of the sequence in which all but one of the aitia of the book are contained. Considering Vergil apart from Callimachus, we may suggest an intended association between aition and dream. The aitia of book 8 taken generally constitute a revelation, and the dream-atmosphere lends both sanctity and supernatural approval to the revelation. The subject of the revelation is the past of Rome; its object is Aeneas, who is vouchsafed a glimpse of the sacredness of his mother-land through the sacredness of its past. And the vehicle of the revelation is, basically, the dream.

In answering the first of the two questions before us, we find that the broad, general similarities in the use of the dream-device, together with the likenesses in language which we have noted and shall note at various places in this study, are all the information on which we may proceed. To them we might add a kinship of spirit which separates *Aeneid* 8 and the *Aitia* from related works of the two principal poets of aitia who were predecessors of Callimachus and Vergil, Hesiod and Lucretius respectively. In contrast to the *Theogony*, the *Works and Days*, and the *De Rerum Natura*, the works before us show a shift of attention from universally significant origins of gods, men, and the cosmos to aetiologies of specific places whose tangible results are localized customs, ceremonies, edifices, and so forth. Callimachus had Hesiod, and more specifically the author of the *Theogony*, in mind as a predecessor; Frs. 2 and 112 indicate this. Vergil, likewise, in his historical catalogue of

Latium, covers several topics broached in the *De Rerum Natura*, book 5. In general, neither Hesiod in the *Theogony* or the *Works and Days* nor Lucretius in the *De Rerum Natura* was interested in locally specific or temporally defined phenomena except insofar as these might contribute to the principal, universally significant topics. An example is the listing of the rivers begotten by Okeanos and Tethys (*Th.* 337ff.). Even in Vergil the distinctly local nature of the aition-sequence of book 8 distinguishes it from the aetiological songs referred to twice elsewhere in his works, namely the performance of Silenus in *Ecl.* 6 and that of Iopas at *Aen.* 1.740ff. In these instances the aetiological topics are principally universal origins.

The development in Callimachus' case is traceable partially to the capacity which the Alexandrian libraries afforded for specialized local research such as the *Aitia* would necessitate. The peculiar interest which the libraries made possible were of the type Vergil was pursuing in composing the *Aeneid*; for this was an aetiological epic revolving around the origin of one historical *civitas*. The splendid difference in Vergil's production was that in the *civitas* which was his subject, the course of universal history and the story of a single place would merge. As the sequences of the show of heroes in book 6 and the shield in book 8 tell us, the world and mankind, which were among the topics treated by Hesiod and Lucretius, received in the *Aeneid* a destiny which was to be fulfilled in the terms of a concrete local phenomenon, the Roman state. The imputation to Italy specifically of historical elements (such as earthborn origin of men and the golden age) which in Hesiod and Lucretius are used to spell out the history of the whole race may be taken as reflections of this process in the creation of the *Aeneid*; Vergil was presenting Rome as the climax of all history.

Yet, his express task in *Aen.* 8.1-369 was to tell the origins of a single place. With respect to this fact, his approach to aitia in book 8 was on a level similar to that of Callimachus' approach. The potential usefulness to Vergil of Callimachus' methods in handling similar problems increases the likelihood that Vergil actually went to Callimachus, especially since, as we have noted, the latter appears to have been the acknowledged master of the aition in Vergil's day. As regards the employment of the dream-framework, however, we can go no further than this with certainty.

We shall pass on, then, to the second question of this chapter and content ourselves with studying the differences in the use of

the dream-framework concept in the two poets, with no relation between them necessarily implied further than that both were working in the tradition of the local aition. The value of such a study will be the same as that of the First Chapter above; it may highlight some aspects of Vergil's art which otherwise would be less clearly appreciable.

We shall begin with remarks upon the effect of the dream-framework on the opening and closing of the aition-sequence in each poet. Callimachus, as we have seen, explicitly connects the end of the *Aitia* with the passage following the Prologue, through reference to Hesiod's dream and most probably to his own dream as well. Both these passages bear in some way upon his own experience with the Muses. The latter of them proceeds, apparently,[1] from comments on this experience to the poet's invoking Cyrene and Zeus. The emphasis is on the central position of the poet; and the last line of the *Aitia*, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν ἔπειμι νομόν (Fr. 112.9) contributes to this emphasis and serves as a final reminder of the programmatic function of the whole idea of the dream. The repeated advertence to Hesiod in Fr. 2 and Fr. 112 is further evidence of the programmatic character of the device.

A look at the way in which Vergil begins and concludes the aition-sequence in book 8 will likewise clarify his intentions. *Aen.* 8.366-369 recalls 8.26-35 in that both are nighttime scenes, in which importance is attached to the bedding down of Aeneas (*pater Aeneas*, 28-29; cf. *ingentem Aenean*, 367). The first of these two fallings asleep is preparatory to the dream; the second closes the sequence which we have shown to be governed by the dream. The first of Aeneas' two places of rest is by the river (*in ripa*, 28), for the obvious reason; the second is, fittingly enough, in Evander's hut (*angusti subter fastigia tecti*, 366), at the other end of the journey into the heart of Latium upon which the dream of 26ff. set him. Otis has noticed[2] how the dream-vision was prepared by the addition of the moonbeam-image to the simile in 17-24. It seems, similarly, that Vergil intentionally concluded the dream dominated sequence with a night-time scene in order to contribute

---

[1] For theories concerning the contents of the opening lines of Fr. 112, cf. the articles of Coppola and Gallavotti referred to, infra, p. 118, n. 2, 3, 4.

[2] Cf. Otis, op. cit., p. 333.

to the feeling created by the dream's influence. And the likeness of expressions referring to night (*nox erat*, 26; *nox ruit*, 369, with each phrase opening a line) seems to be connected with this likeness in intention between the two passages. The significant difference from Callimachus, once again, is that where the earlier poet's dream-references are heavily programmatic and self-reflective, those of Vergil are designed to contribute to the special atmosphere of literal reality and mystical encounter that characterizes *Aeneid* 8. Vergil's overarching atmosphere affects the content of his aitia; Callimachus' affects only the telling of the aitia.

We may appreciate more fully what it is that the poet is doing by comparing the Tiber-Aeneas communication in this book with that between Charon and Aeneas in the sixth book. Book 8 is the account of Aeneas' introduction to the land in which he is to work out his destiny, the destiny for which the journey of book 6 had prepared him. Otis compares the hero's experiences in the two books by summarizing them respectively as psychological preparation for heroic leadership and direct assumption of it. [1] And the milieu of the encounter in book 8 reflects the milieu of the preparation in book 6. The first half of the eighth book is couched in a setting reminiscent of that surrounding the Hades-experience in book 6. The hero's dealings with Charon and Tiber express this especially well.

> Ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluvioque propinquant.
> Navita quos iam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda
> per tacitum nemus ire pedemque advertere ripae,
> sic prior adgreditur dictis atque increpat ultro:
> 'Quisquis es, armatus qui ad nostra flumina tendis,
> fare age, quid venias, iam istinc, et comprime gressum.
> Umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae;
> corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina.
> (*Aen.* 6.384-391)

> Thybris ea fluvium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem
> leniit et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,
> mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
> sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.
> Ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo.

[1] Otis, op. cit., p. 331.

> Labitur uncta vadis abies: mirantur et undae,
> miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe
> scuta virum fluvio pictasque innare carinas.
>
> (*Aen.* 8.86-93)

The darkness surrounding the meeting with Charon is that of the underworld; it represents the terror of the realm of death, with which Aeneas is coming face to face. Ahead is the unknown and dreadful. Charon himself is anything but reassuring. He points up the fact that, as the Sibyl had said earlier (6.135), Aeneas is undertaking a foolhardy adventure. In these conditions, the shadowy silence of the *nemus* surrounding the hero's route to the waters of the Styx becomes ominous. When the Trojans take to the becalmed river in book 8 there are once again darkness (*nocte,* 8.86), silence, and surrounding woodland; but the significance of these elements is entirely transformed. In book 6 they constituted the aspect of all that man is supposed to fear most, and expressed an ordeal which all must undergo. In book 8 they connote the peace and benignity of Latium, the land where the toils of Aeneas' journey are to be resolved in the highest of rewards, the fulfillment of his destiny. The meeting with Charon is universal as well as dreadful. The meeting with Tiber is particular, historically and geographically specified, as well as peaceful. Yet both partake of a quality that sets them off from normal experiences of life. This quality is easily definable enough in the case of the underworld journey; death is the ultimate experience, and it takes place on the border of a totally unknown realm whose landscape and aura man must imagine. What Vergil has done in book 8 is to distinguish the atmosphere of the Tiber-journey by investing it with a conjunction of the elements which he had attached to the underworld. The application of the dream to the aition-sequence was the first means of creating the special feeling of the first part of book 8. The dream was the occasion for the river-god to communicate with Aeneas in the guise of an old man. The communication of Tiber to Aeneas continues in 86ff., where in the form of the river he responds to the hero's presence and comes to his aid by stilling the flow of his current. And here the distinctive feeling created by the dream is continued and strengthened by the detailing of circumstances similar to those of the *locus somni noctisque soporae* (6.390). Thus Vergil has developed the dream-framework to the point

at which it not only elevates the mood of the eighth book, but gives the events of the book a background which recalls the special variety of reality of the sixth book.

Closer attention to the language of the closing passages Call. Fr. 112 and *Aen.* 8.362-365 will perhaps contribute something further to our understanding of Vergil's art.

> . . .] . .ιν ὅτ' ἐμὴ μοῦσα τ̣[. . . . .]ᾳ̣σεται
> . . .]τ̣ου καὶ Χαρίτων [. . . . . .]ρι̣ᾳ̣ μο̣ιαδ̣' ἀνᾳ̣σ̣σ̣ης
> . . .]τερης οὔ σε ψευδον[. . . . . .]ματι̣
> πάντ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάντ̣ᾳ̣ τ̣[ελ]εσφόρον εἶπέν̣. . .[. .].[
> χ̣ε̣ί̣ν. . τῷ̣ Μοῦσαι πολλὰ νέμοντι βοτά
> σὺν̣ μύθους ἐβάλοντο παρ' ἴχν[ι]ον ὀξέος ἵππου·
> χαῖρε, σὺν εὐεστοῖ δ' ἔρχ̣εο λωϊτέρῃ.
> χαῖρε, Ζεῦ, μέγα καὶ σύ, σάω δ' [ὅλο]ν οἶκον ἀνάκτων·
> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν̣ [ἔ]πειμι νομόν.
>
> (Call. Fr. 112.1-9)

> Ut ventum ad sedes, "Haec" inquit "limina victor
> Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit;
> aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
> finge deo rebusque veni non asper egenis."
>
> (*Aen.* 8.362-365)

Call. Fr. 112.7-8 contains respective addresses to some uncertain deity, perhaps Cyrene,[1] and to Zeus. The greetings are hymnic and quite formal, containing the χαῖρε-salutation recuring in Callimachean addresses to deities; in addition they include the invitation- or exhortation-motive common in hymn literature,[2] accompanied by a plea for prosperity.

There are formal likenesses between Call. Fr. 112.7 and *Aen.* 8.364-365. The greeting χαῖρε finds a correspondent in the admonitions *aude* and *finge*; and σὺν εὐεστοῖ δ' ἔρχεο λωϊτέρῃ is similar to *rebusque veni non asper egenis*. Does Vergil intend that Evander's words to Aeneas contain overtones of hymn-language?

---

[1] Cf. infra, Appendix 1.

[2] Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Berlin, 1913), p. 148, on the "*descende* Absicht". For the χαῖρε-salutation elsewhere in Callimachus cf. Hy. 1.91,94; 2.113; 3.268; 4.325; 5.140,141; 6.134; in the *Aitia*, Fr. 23.19-20; Fr. 66.8. The last two citations together with the passage under discussion indicate the regularity with which Callimachus seems to have united hymn-form elements with aitia. On the latter topic see also Call. Fr. 43.81ff.

We have noted elsewhere[1] Vergil's attention to hymn-formulae in other parts of book 8, in the style of the hymn to Hercules (293-302). Such elements also appear in Aeneas' invocation to Tiber (71-78). In each of these passages is found what Norden refers to as the *descende* element; [2]

adsis o tantum et proprius tua numina firmes.

(*Aen.* 8.78)

et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.

(*Aen.* 8.302)

In the lines 362-369, the potentiality for divinity in Aeneas and Hercules is under treatment.[3] Hence it is not surprising that

---

[1] Cf. supra, pp. 65ff. On this topic generally, see now F. Klingner, *Virgil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis* (Stuttgart, 1967), p. 532.

[2] Note the clause after the salutation which refers to the origin of an addressed deity (*genus amnibus unde est*; cf. Norden, op. cit., p. 148), the *quocumque* element (74-75) similar to the *quocumque nomine* expression frequently found (cf. Norden, p. 144), and the *descende*-conclusion (78; cf. Norden, p. 148).

[3] This concern with the attainability of divinity seems to be reflected in the words *te quoque dignum finge deo* (364-65), about whose meaning there is uncertainty. Henry takes *deo* to refer to Jupiter as father of Hercules and grandfather of Aeneas; Aeneas is thus urged to live up to his breeding. Fowler interprets Evander's exhortation: "Do thou bravely follow his (Hercules') example. His divinity needed no outward show; so reckon thyself like him, as worthy of divinity, and be capable of despising vulgar wealth" (*Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, p. 77). He takes *deo* to mean "divinity in the abstract, not that of any particular god" (ibid.), in agreement with Servius and Heyne. The latter recognizes that the previous injunction *Aude contemnere* implies arduous effort and accordingly paraphrases *te quoque dignum finge deo* as follows: "Compone tu mentemque informa ad similitudinem numinis; h. fac, redde te similem Herculis in contemtu hoc inanis fastus." Conington adds the observation that *finge* like *aude* seems to imply effort; he does not comment directly upon *dignum deo.*

The following comments might be made:

1) *Quoque* in 364 connects Aeneas with Hercules and not *aude* with *finge,* as is shown by word positions in 364.

2) Therefore *dignum deo* refers to a quality that Hercules has achieved and Aeneas is urged to achieve. Hercules, of course, stands out in ancient mythology for achieving divinity through effort; Evander is thus encouraging Aeneas to strive for participation in divinity.

3) A study of Vergil's uses of the word *fingere* supports Conington's remark that the word here implies effort, and makes unlikely the translations of Fowler (*reckon*) and Heyne (*mentem informa*). Whenever Vergil uses *fingere* to refer to an internal, mental or emotional process, it is always with an implication of the falsity of a thing imagined that he does so; e.g. *Primus ego invisum quem tu tibi fingis, . . .* (*Aen.* 11.364; Drances to Turnus); cf. also 7.438, 4.338, 11.407, 2.107, *G.* 2.45 and Conington's remark ad loc.

Evander's closing words bear a resemblance of form to those of the hymn to Hercules:

adi /	dexter /	pede secundo
veni /	non asper /	rebus egenis

The case for considering *veni* as a correspondent of the earlier invitations *adsis* and *adi* gains from the fact that in one of only two other certain uses of the form *veni* in Vergil, the context is once again of exhortation in an address to a deity (*huc, pater o Lenaee, veni, G.* 2.7).[1]

Another argument for taking *veni* in this way is to be found in Tiber's dream-appearance. There the two vocative appellations used by the god (*sate gente deum*, 36; *nate dea*, 59) emphasize the divine in Aeneas, in view of which fact it is noteworthy that Tiber's two opening lines recall the form of a stylized hymn-address by Catullus to Diana:

O sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem
qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergame servas,
(*Aen.* 8.36-37)

O Latonia, maximi
magna progenies Iovis,
quam mater prope Deliam
deposivit olivam,
(Cat. 34.5-8)

Fordyce and Norden point out[2] the frequency of the form in

Conington is correct in citing *Aen.* 2.80 to explain the present instance. There the treacherous captive Greek Sinon protests *nec si miserum fortuna Sinonem/finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.* "She has moulded him into misery, but shall never mould him into falsehood," elaborates Conington. We might render *te quoque dignum finge deo* simply "make yourself likewise worthy of divinity."

4) *Rebusque veni non asper egenis,* then, refers to the means by which Aeneas is to follow out Evander's urging and achieve what Hercules achieved. This is made clear by the fact that *veni* is in a series of imperatives with *aude* and *finge.*

[1] The other certain use of *veni* the imperative in Vergil is at *Aen.* 11.856 (*huc periture veni, capias ut digna Camillae/praemia*; spoken by the nymph Opis to Arruns, Camilla's killer). At. *G.* 3.71, where the reference is to quickness in choosing out likely younger members of a cattle herd, there is uncertainty whether the reading should be *anteveni* or *ante veni.*

[2] Cf. C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus* (Oxford, 1961), p. 172 ad Cat. 34.7, on the relative clause as "a typical feature of the recital of the deity's γοναί in

which the salutation is accompanied by a relative clause, which sometimes expands on the deity's genealogy. In Vergil, the *O* and the vocative precede a relative clause whose content is adjusted to the circumstances of the passage. Thus, in Tiber's address there seem to be hints of the manner in which one would speak to a divinity as well as explicit attention to the divinity of Aeneas.[1] It is not our purpose here to press for symbolic implications of this usage of Vergil's; we wish merely to observe that the deep respect which Tiber tenders Aeneas in so speaking heightens the sense of reverential awe which permeates the book.

Our object in analyzing the address of Tiber is to corroborate the theory that in *Aen.* 8.364-365 Vergil was employing hymn-form elements. Such elements appear in straightforward fashion when the Arcadians worship Hercules; now we are aware that they are also concealed in the words of Tiber and Evander to Aeneas. When we recall that such formulaic expressions are used liberally in the *Aitia* as well,[2] the possibility presents itself that the peculiar conjunction of dream-framework, hymn-form, and aition-sequence in Vergil reflects Callimachean influence. Our earlier remarks

---

the hymn." Norden, op. cit., pp. 151, 168-174, has gathered several examples of "Der Relativstil der Prädikation", in which a relative clause—sometimes dealing and sometimes not dealing with the deity's genealogy—follows directly the salutation of the deity, e.g. *Il.* 1.37f., Soph. *Ant.* 781f., Plaut. *Poen.* 1187, Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.288, Verg. *Aen.* 11.785ff., etc. Our point is that at 36f. Vergil solemnizes Tiber's address to Aeneas by investing it with hymn-form elements and having Tiber emphasize the divine in Aeneas.

[1] The argument is strengthened when we compare the form and the mood of this stately introduction with the opening lines spoken by any other appearers in dreams to Aeneas.

> Heu fuge, nate dea, teque his' ait 'eripe flammis.'
> (2.289; Hector.)

> Quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est,
> hic canit et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit.
> (3.154-155; The Penates.)

> Nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos . . . ?
> (4.560; Mercury.)

> Nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,
> care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fatis, . . .
> (5.724-725; Anchises.)

For solemnity, Anchises' words at 5.724f. most closely approach Tiber's greeting; but the emphasis in the earlier passage is on the relation between the son and his human father.

[2] Cf. supra, p. 100 n. 2.

on the union of the Hercules-Cacus aition with a hymn support this possibility.[1]

To summarize our results: it does not appear demonstrable that the relation between Callimachus' use of the dream-framework in the *Aitia* and Vergil's use of it in *Aeneid* 8 is causal, although the general character of *Aen.* 8.1-369 and the Augustan popularity of the *Aitia* make such a relationship plausible. In any case, a study of the dream-framework as employed by the two poets clarifies the changes in the use of the dream-with-aitia that has taken place between them. Vergil parallels Callimachus in that he has embedded a series of aitia in an atmosphere dominated and determined by an introductory dream. He has heightened the unreality of the dream-feeling by referring to several details of the underworld experience of book 6, notably the background of the Aeneas-Charon encounter. Like Callimachus, he freely associates aitia and formulaic hymn-addresses to deities, and closer analysis shows that in addition to the straightforward use of such forms Vergil applies them piecemeal to Tiber's and Evander's language toward Aeneas. In appropriating the dream-framework, Vergil is employing a dramatic mode of expression used by Callimachus to connect his poetry with the vindication of his own poetic distinction and with his theories of criticism. But the use to which Vergil puts the dream-framework is entirely different. Instead of making it a vehicle for objective, detached viewing of the tales he tells, he causes it to become a part of those tales; by making Tiber the appearer, he effects a close union between the dream and the subject-matter of his stories, which in Callimachus are on two entirely different levels. Vergil's emphasis in making the change is not on his own art, as in Callimachus, but on the veracity of the revelations of the eighth book.

---

[1] Cf. supra, pp. 66f.

CONCLUSION

In addressing ourselves to a summary view of this study, we find two questions to be dealt with; the effect on the *Aeneid* of the use of the aition in 8.1-369, and, in turn, the effect on the aition-form of its incorporation into the Vergilian epic.

How did the use of the aition-sequence affect the *Aeneid*? First, it provided a vehicle for the union of past and present that not only was ideally suited to Vergil's purpose in *Aeneid* 8, but that would appeal to the Alexandrian sensibilities of Vergil's audience as well. Vergil's purpose in *Aen.* 8.1-369 was to place the coming of Aeneas in perspective with Rome's past, as the remainder of the book was devoted to putting the event in perspective relative to her future. An interruption in the progress to war of the epic's action was created for the achievement of this temporary perspective. From the special viewpoint that the eighth book offered, the whole *Aeneid* was thus seen in a somewhat different light. Placed alongside a series of recollections of the wanderings and κτίσεις of others, it became a κτίσις-story, an aition, itself; not just another aition, but one to give meaning to all history preceding and following it. In this instance, then, Vergil modernized Homer by the use of a form popular with the Alexandrians,[1] and by the viewing of his whole subject—the carrying of the penates to Latium—in such terms that it became very proper subject-matter for this form.

The aition-sequence in *Aeneid* 8, like that of the dream in the *Aitia*, constituted a revelation. It was used when the time came for Aeneas to receive a new past—the past of Latium, his new home, a past of which he must be made aware in order to appreciate in some measure the importance of his coming trials. The aition related past with present, as it did with Hesiod;[2] but here the terms were such that the past was a specific past, not just generally the past of gods and men as in the *Theogony*.

The aition-sequence proved to be an environment in which Vergil could unite artistically the Callimachean with the epic

[1] On the importance of the aition in Alexandrian poetry, cf. G. Codrignani, "L' 'aition' nella poesia greca prima di Callimaco", *Convivium*, N.S. 16 (1958), pp. 543ff.

[2] Cf. Codrignani, op. cit., p. 531.

spirit in effecting this relationship between past and present. As Otis has indicated,[1] one of Vergil's primary problems was to bring Homeric epic to terms with the developments in poetic theory attributed to Callimachus and accepted by the circles in which Vergil wrote, as well as by Vergil himself.[2] The Prologue to Callimachus' *Aitia* indicates that that work is to be taken as illustrative of the small-scale poetry which its author defends in opposition to grandiose efforts measurable by the "Persian chain." In it we find the dream-framework, which gives an external continuity to a series of pieces which are otherwise more or less isolated,[3] and whose subject-matter is discontinuous. Inside the dream-framework, we find a series of stories in which emotions are aroused and resolved on a comparatively superficial level and over short numbers of lines, with the poet-Muse rapport providing continuity on a level other than that of the subject-matter of the stories. Yet the nature of the aition made it susceptible to a more thoroughgoing integration into a larger picture. Vergil saw this capability of the aition. The result, in *Aen.* 8.1-369, is a series of events and stories whose "episodic" nature commentators have so repeatedly remarked upon. The chief episodes that constitute the passage studied here might be summarized as 1) dream and journey (1-101), 2) Aeneas-Evander encounter (102-183), 3) myth of Hercules and Cacus (184-305), and 4) local history-geography (306-369). Three of these episodes are dominated by elements conspicuous in the fragments of the *Aitia*; revelation through dream, aition of deliverance of natives by a stranger-hero, and the local catalogue. The fourth (8.102-183) contains a genealogical aition, relates the arrival of the hero of the major aition (the founding of Rome), and introduces the human revealer, Evander, who continues the disclosures begun by the divine revealer Tiber. When we have distinguished these elements,

[1] Brooks Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 19-20.

[2] Cf. Vergil's choice of genre in writing the *Eclogues*, and the sentiments expressed in *Ecl.* 6.1-8.

[3] There are internal groupings of origin-stories in the *Aitia* within the dream-framework; the Argonauts' landing at Anaphe and Herakles' meetings with the Lindian and the Dryopian (Frs. 7ff., 23, 24) are collected because all tell how blasphemies or scurrilities found their way into various rites. Fr. 43 contains several aitia which are joined because all deal with the same place, Sicily. But in no case do the contents of such collected aitia form the parts of one integral story, as is the case with the aitia of *Aen.* 8.1-369.

we can see the several ways in which Vergil brought about an intimate fusion among them. The dream-revelation (26-67) sets the mood for all that is to happen down to 369. The Hercules-Cacus aition provides a divinely-descended exile to balance Aeneas; and it makes possible the occasion of Evander's admonitions to the Trojans concerning how divinity is to be attained. Thus Vergil has taken elements found in Callimachus' small-scale poetry, and expressed in the terms of these elements the epic-scale union of Aeneas with his new, divinely-ordained past.

But the question how Vergil developed the aition-sequence as found in Callimachus is more interesting, perhaps, than the question what effect the aition-sequence had on the epic. Like the Alexandrian, Vergil presented a series of aitia in a setting which had a unity of its own, as our comments on the structure of *Aen.* 8.1-369 have indicated. We may reduce the Vergilian developments of this concept of the unified aition-sequence to five;

1) He subordinated the substance of the aitia to one dominant theme (the transfer of the penates to Latium, the subject of the epic). Thus the foundations attributed to Saturn, Evander, and Ascanius are given meaning only through their relation to the central founding of the Roman state by Aeneas.

2) He oriented the numerous aitia physically around the one locality, the land of Latium, object of the Trojan quest. This was done chiefly through the placing of the interlocutors in Latium itself. Further, the facts surrounding characters who enter the picture were selected so that in relating the adventures of any one of them, e.g. Saturn or Evander, the poet was primarily telling a part of the story of Latium.

3) He took elements which in the *Aitia* were related to the poet's *Dichterweihe*, principally the elements of dream and revelation; and he re-employed them for the sanctification and verification of the subject-matter of the revelation.

4) He integrated the scenes of the unifying conversation-framework with those contained in the action of the aitia themselves. Thus the communications of Tiber and Evander with Aeneas were themselves part of the same story which included the events contained in the aitia of *Aen.* 8.1-369.

5) In the case of the Hercules-Cacus story, he took several special measures to introduce a non-Callimachean heroic-scale conflict into the aition-sequence, characterized as it was by Calli-

machean overtones. He temporarily created a separate mood through concentration on the grim pre-Aeneas environment of the cave. He not only gave the principal antagonists superhuman dimensions, but in addition he had them move about curiously aloof from the merely life-size inhabitants of the land. Where Callimachus would have seized upon small details to illustrate various shades of emotion,[1] Vergil did away with attention to such detail, for the apparent purpose of reducing the encounter to a massive, simple clash of good and evil. And where Callimachus appears to have asymmetrically[2] treated monster-slayings by amplifying the hospitality-theme to be found in the background of such slayings, Vergil made the battle itself the center of the aetiological tale.[3]

Several remarks might be made relating these observations to recent Vergilian criticism. Firstly, Duckworth's proposed tripartite pattern for *Aen.* 8 is strongly supported.[4] Our analysis of the aition-sequence points up the unity of 1-369 as well as the movement into exclusive concern for the past, without attention to the war-threats of the surrounding action, which the passage displays. But the Day/Night/Day balance which Duckworth sees in the book as a whole is called into question; for the noctural Tiber-vision appears to dominate what follows it, rather than being simply a prelude whose mood does not continue to have influence. The day of Aeneas' arrival, then, should be taken as part of an artistic piece that includes the nocturnal apparition. Since 1-369 climaxes in exclusive concern for history centered around the pre-Aeneas past, and 454-731 tends similarly to complete concentration upon Roman history of the future, it seems that a view of the whole book such as that sketched in Chapter IV, Table 1, above, in which Part One and Part Three are paralleled and the Tiber-vision is better integrated, would be preferable.

This analysis also answers problems which arise with Brooks

---

[1] Cf., e.g., Herakles' son tearing at his father's chest in the encounter with the Lindian peasant in Fr. 23.

[2] Cf. R. Heinze, *Ovids Elegische Erzählung* (Leipzig, 1919), p. 53, on asymmetrical theme treatment.

[3] Call. Fr. 54 seems to indicate that a peasant's hospitality was in the foreground of the poet's treatment of the story of Herakles and Molorchos, as it was in his *Hekale*.

[4] Cf. G. Duckworth, *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid* (Ann Arbor, 1962), p. 31.

Otis' suggestion that "the three days" [1] are the key structural element in the book. The first of these problems is that, as Otis himself notes,[2] the division among these three parts is not strictly one of days; time separates 102-368 from 454-596, but place separates 454-596 from 597-731. Second'y, Otis describes the threefold distinction as follows;

> The three *theoi-andres* are set within three separate eras, each represented by a different place or time; Hercules belongs to the Arcadian Rome or Pallanteum of the first day, the day kept sacred to him; Aeneas conducts his business only in the morning of the second day (the day after the sacred festival) when, though the scene is still Pallanteum, his concern is no longer with the Arcadian, Herculean city of the past, but with impending war; finally the Augustus-shield is received and studied only in the very special atmosphere of the remote Caere-vale. . . [3]

The difficulty is that Aeneas cannot be so carefully confined to the central of the three parts of the book referred to; certainly not in anything like the way in which, on the overt level, Hercules belongs to 102-368 and Augustus to 597-731. Nor, as lines 126ff. show, can it be said that Aeneas' conducting of present business is limited to the second day. His prominent but silent role as the receiver of the revelation in 1-369 seems to support the view that the movement of book 8 is not so much from past to heroic present to future as it is from heroic present to past, and then in turn from heroic present to future. Thirdly, the integration of the Venus-Vulcan scene (370-453) into Otis' concept of "the three days" is somewhat unsatisfactory. The scene is important, Otis says,

> because this interval spells the difference between two quite different times and aspects of the story—between the Arcadian, Herculean past and the exigent present of the Latin war. [4]

Here Otis rightly sees that the Olympian interlude separates two passages; but we must note that the exigent present plays a

[1] Cf. Otis, op. cit., p. 330, n. 1.
[2] Otis, op. cit., p. 331.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Otis, op. cit., p. 338.

part in the first of these passages as well as the second, and that in 597-731 the exigent present is temporarily left behind, a circumstance essential to Otis' own principal three-part division. [1]

Whatever the adjustments which should be made in Otis' view of the structure of book 8, his proposals concerning the "subjective style" are enlightening, and two of them especially are corroborated by this study. 1) Vergil's propensity for "editorializing" [2] appears at 184ff. where, as we have noted, the language of Evander is in some ways more appropriate to an Augustan audience than to the Trojans, the ostensible object of Evander's *apologia*. The lines 337-350, in which the poet's perspective upon the tour of Rome intrudes into Evander's,[3] indicate the same tendency. We have seen, though, that such editorializing is kept carefully within limits, as is shown mainly by the sparseness of references to Aeneas' emotional reactions.[4] 2) Of Vergilian continuity of narrative, Otis says that the poet

> wants to maintain a single feeling-tone, expound a single moral and point of view which will dominate the reader, and cause his empathy and sympathy to run on the track that he (Vergil) has carefully laid out. . . (Shifts away from a narrative) would destroy the feeling-tone and break the sympathetic-empathetic identification of reader and character, reader and author.[5]

If our estimation of the Tiber-vision's importance is valid, we have identified in *Aeneid* 8.26-369 a passage exemplifying the poetic intention described here by Otis, in which Vergil creates and carefully perpetuates a definite feeling. And in this passage, both author and reader are meant to share the awe experienced by the characters themselves in the encounter between *pius Aeneas* and holy Latium.

---

[1] If, in the cited comment on p. 338, Otis meant to leave lines 597-731 out of account, then the end of his remark is more understandable. But in that case, it is curious that 370-454 should be important for its dividing past from present, and that meanwhile no such separation of present from future should be needed. Further, it is certainly more proper to view such a major scene-change as that of 370-453 as bearing upon the book in its entirety.

[2] Cf. Otis, op. cit., pp. 54, 61.

[3] Cf. supra, Chapter IV, Table 3, and pp. 85ff.

[4] Cf. supra, Chapter I, pp. 21f.

[5] Otis, op. cit., pp. 69f.

The studies of Schnepf and Buchheit attend to Vergil's extended and special treatment of the Hercules-Cacus aition. They follow the directions taken by Drew, Conway and others in essaying to formulate the deeper meaning of the heroic struggle.[1] This study, on the other hand, has been rather an attempt to describe the overt arrangement of the aition through comparison of it to a key work earlier in the history of the aition-form. The comparison has served to make it clearer that Vergil's treatment is extraordinary. His removal of the combatants from the plane of, and from nearly all contact with, the rest of Latium's dwellers emphasizes the prospect that the myth has more than its literal meaning. The geographical "separation of the milieux" has the same effect. Schnepf and Buchheit see the separative element as peculiarly Vergilian;[2] and when we compare Vergil's treatment with that in two very similar Callimachean tales, one involving Herakles, we are encouraged to believe this. From Call. Fr. 54, it appears that the tale of Herakles' meeting with the Nemean lion is so arranged that the hospitality shown the heroic traveler by old Molorchus is central. A parallel case is the *Hekale,* in which the important event of Theseus' quest for the Marathonian bull is his stay with the elderly peasant woman who gives the poem its name.[3] To these we may probably add the reception of Apollo at Deipnias after the slaying of the Python, as recounted in the *Aitia*.[4] The fragments of text and diegesis of this tale, scant though they are, indicate that the name Deipnias, taken from Apollo's feasting at that village after the slaughter, is aetiologized, and that the attention is on subsequent events rather than on the slaying itself.[5] These instances may mean that it was a regular practice

[1] Hermann Schnepf, "Das Herculesabenteuer in Virgils Aeneis", *Gymnasium,* 66 (1959), 250-268; Vinzenz Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms,* Gymnasium Beiheft 3 (Heidelberg, 1963), pp. 116-133; cf. D. L. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 6-41, and R. S. Conway, "Poesia ed impero", *Conferenze Virgiliane* (Milan, 1931), pp. 21-36.

[2] Cf. Schnepf, op. cit., p. 252; Buchheit, op. cit., p. 118.

[3] The diegesis to Call. Fr. 230 (Cf. Pfeiffer, *Call.,* Vol. 1, p. 227) and numerous fragments of the *Hekale* (Call. Frs. 231, 239-246, 256-257, etc.) indicate the importance of the hospitality shown Theseus by the old woman in the poet's handling of the story.

[4] Cf. Call. Frs. 86-89, and Diegesis ad Fr. 86 (Pfeiffer, *Call.,* Vol. I, p. 95).

[5] Cf. Diegesis ad Fr. 86, lines 24-25, in which the slaying of the Python is recounted in four words. The laurel tree and Apollo's purification of himself in the Peneios River after the feat are alluded to next. The importance of the hospitality theme in the *Aitia* is discussed supra, Ch. II, passim.

of Callimachus to portray such salvific monster-slayings with emphasis on the accompanying hospitality-motive. If so, this habit of Callimachus' was part of the literary tradition to which Vergil was making reference in choosing the aition-form to achieve his purposes at *Aen.* 8.184ff.; our appreciation of Vergil's unusualness of treatment is enhanced; and Schnepf and Buchheit seem further justified in dealing with Vergil's aition as markedly different in their approach through symbolism. [1]

Galinsky offers another specialized study[2] of the Hercules-Cacus battle, using symbolic and imagistic parallels to underline parallelisms of theme (for example, misguided *furor* recurring in Cacus and Turnus). In this he follows Buchheit, who generally is judicious in combining such parallels with other types of evidence. Galinsky's high regard for the value of these parallels is apparent when he states:

> In striving to give the *Aeneid* unity, Vergil relied, as has been recognized, less on the arrangement of the action than on a highly complex system of parallels and contrasts as well as an elaborate interweaving of motifs.[3]

He goes on to consider the Hercules-Cacus episode as one of the instances in the *Aeneid* in which "the action . . . recedes into the background, and the principle which rules is that of . . .function."

Buchheit offers convincing illustrations of the functionality of the episode, based chiefly on a series of parallels between Aeneas and Hercules both in book 8 and elsewhere in the epic.[4] He proceeds from the sure base of these observations to a comparison of Cacus and Turnus which is similarly attractive.[5] To some extent, then,

---

[1] The degree of success attained in using this approach, however, is another question. Schnepf, as Buchheit notes (op. cit., p. 117), "nicht vom Text und seiner Interpretation ausgeht." He relies heavily on material from Horace (cf. esp. Schnepf, op. cit., pp. 256ff.) in developing the Hercules-Augustus parallel in Vergil. Buchheit's method, centered principally around the next of Vergil himself, is more satisfactory.

[2] G. K. Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* 8," AJPh, 87 (1966), 18-51.

[3] Galinsky, op. cit., p. 19.

[4] Among Buchheit's stronger arguments (op. cit., pp. 120ff.) are the following; a) *Aen.* 6.122f. and 395f. provide links between Aeneas and Hercules. b) The emphasis on Juno as Hercules' nemesis in the hymn at 8.287-304 has a similar effect. c) These instances are supported by 8.362-365.

[5] Cf. especially the remarks on underworld leitmotifs which accompany both Cacus and Turnus (ibid., p. 127).

he bears out Galinsky's method. The question raised by Galinsky's analysis is twofold: how great is the detail to which such parallels may be carried? And what is the relationship of the symbolic-imagistic approach to other approaches?

We should begin by noting that in the instance of certain reflections between book 6 and book 8, the "parallel" approach has harmonized singularly with the present study.[1] This instance gives cause for confidence in the validity of the method. Nor is it unreasonable to expect that Vergil worked in such a way as the imagistic-symbolic approach proposes that he worked. We are told by ancient authority of his procedure of beginning with the outline for the whole work, and filling in various parts as he chose; under these circumstances he himself would frequently have had widely separated passages of the *Aeneid* before him at the same time. His recitation at one sitting of three books of the Aeneid before Augustus indicates that verbal repetitions from book to book might easily be intended to have audial effect.[2]

Yet it is true that there are pitfalls in such an approach. Parallels might be seen where none are meant; unless selective criteria are developed for the imagistic-symbolic analysis of similarly worded passages, we must deny the poet the right of saying something twice in the same way without a more elaborate reason for doing so than that the expression works well in each ease.[3]

This does not mean that the method is to be discarded. It means that we must attempt to establish procedures for application only when there is a good chance that parallelism is intended. And we must recognize that even when such a procedure is established, there can be degrees of certainty varying from application to application.

Symbolic-imagistic analysis should be admissible only when

[1] Cf. M. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 126ff., to which discussion the remarks on this topic supra, pp. 94ff., are partially indebted.

[2] Cf. Don. *Vita*.

[3] Conversations with Professor Solmsen have been especially helpful in the formulation of the views here expressed concerning the assets and liabilities of the symbolic-imagistic approach. See now also M. L. Clarke's review of Putnam in *CR* N.S. 16 (1966), p. 325, and W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 105-110, called to my attention by G. K. Galinsky. G.'s own views have been clarified in "Vergil's *Romanitas* and His Adaptation of Greek Heroes" in *Aufsteig und Niedergang der romischen Welt: Festschrift für Joseph Vogt*, II.3 (Berlin, 1972).

there is remarkable verbal repetition together with clear similarity or antithesis of context between the passages compared. Whatever evidence external to the passages themselves can be brought to bear will, of course, strengthen any given case. To take an example of a plausible parallel: Galinsky and Münzer[1] note the use of the expression *fugit ocior euro* at 8.223 (applied to Cacus fleeing before Hercules) and at 12.733 (of Turnus in his last battle, upon the breaking of his sword). One possible explanation is simply the aptness of the expression in both places. However, the recurrence is not merely in a situation in which the second use is as fitting as the first; it is in a context influenced by several implications that the relevant action in book 8 is in some way taking place once again in book 12. It occurs against the backdrop of the thematic connections between Turnus and Cacus elaborated by Galinsky. The Hercules-Aeneas parallel is established, if only by *Aen.* 6.122f. and 395f., and 8.362-365. The Cacus-Turnus parallel is both a corollary of the Hercules-Aeneas pairing and a phenomenon indicated on other grounds as well.[2] The Herculean victory over *furor impius* appears indeed to be a type of his counterpart Aeneas' victory over the same force. These considerations lend coinciding overtones to the two battles in which the expression under discussion occurs. In such circumstances, it seems that a deliberate intention by Vergil to recall the one passage through a verbal repetition in the other is quite likely.

Not all instances are so clear-cut.[3] Nor are all Galinsky's parallels as forceful as that discussed above, or as the reminiscences of book 6 in the description of Cacus' cave.[4] Working down from the surest cases, then, we are faced with varying degrees of possibility; but there is little question that the method has in instances thrown valuable light on the artistry of the *Aeneid.* The gains made in its use, it seems, have been such that the risks which it entails are worth taking, in the hope that further research will lead to more satisfactory refinement of the method itself.

The question of the place that this approach ought to take

---

[1] Cf. Galinsky, op. cit., p. 35; Fr. Münzer, *Cacus der Rinderdieb* (Basel, 1911), pp. 55f.

[2] Cf. supra, p. 112, n.5.

[3] Some of the parallels proposed by Galinsky (op. cit., pp. 30-33) are of doubtful significance, e.g. 8.190-192 and 12.684-691; 8.233ff. and 12.896ff.; 2.608-612 and 8.256-257.

[4] Galinsky, op. cit., p. 38.

among others is another matter. Are we to concur in Galinsky's view that "a highly complex system of parallels and contrasts as well as . . . an elaborate interweaving of motifs" rather than the arrangement of the action is the chief unifying principle of the *Aeneid*? There seems to be no warrant for giving this approach such thoroughgoing predominance.

It is hoped that the present study helps to underline this fact. Symbolic as the Hercules-Cacus aition might be, it is yet a more substantial link in the action than one might suspect from following the symbolic-imagistic approach. One of the reasons why it has been only partially understood is that it has not been properly placed in context with the other aitia which accompany it. In perspective with these aitia and with the dream that influences them, it is part of an intense encounter in which, as we have mentioned earlier, Aeneas is the prominent though silent recipient of a welcome and a revelation. The indications that the aitia and the travelers of the book are meant to set off the Aition of Rome (in other words the *Aeneid* itself) and the Traveler who founds it make us newly conscious that the idyllic, episodic exterior conceals an important event in the growth of Aeneas and the fulfillment of his mission-an event that unfolds gradually, climactically, and with a unity of its own that is supported by imagistic references to book 6. To set down the relationship of this book with the rest of the *Aeneid* primarily in terms of a series of imagistic parallels would be to risk the loss of the special perspective upon the rest of the *Aeneid* which the vantage point of the eighth book affords. And it would be to risk missing the emotional activity which is being carried forward under the surface in the book. The study of verbal parallels, then, is to be included, but is not to be accorded predominance, in the analysis of the unity of the *Aeneid*.

Bearing this principle in mind, we should note that Putman's stimulating chapter on the eighth book is to be read with discretion.[1] His elaboration of the death-birth contrast between book 6

---

[1] Putnam, op. cit., pp. 105-150. Galinsky notes M. von Albrecht's discussion (*Gnomon* 38 (1966), pp. 564ff.) on overinterpretations resulting from Putnam's method.

It is also appropriate to mention here J. K. Newman's view (*Augustus and the New Poetry* (Brussels, 1967: Coll. Latomus, Vol. 88), esp. pp. 231-232) that Vergil's principal debt to Callimachus is one of attitude, and that his symbolic use of narrative is its expression. "In spite of the greater emotional involvement", Newman comments (pp. 231-232), "which Virgil evinces, . . .

and book 8, while enlightening in places, is difficult to accept in its entirety.[1] The parallels between the golden bough and the pig are rather convincing. Putnam's inferences from them are less so.[2] It does not seem that the sow of book 8 partakes so plainly of the character of a "passport". The assistance-offer of Tiber is not made conditional upon the sacrifice of the animal to Juno; and so, even if the sacrifice is necessary, it is not emphasized as such in the context of the Tiber-appearance and subsequent events. Further, the sow is introduced by way of reassuring Aeneas that the vision of the river-god is genuine, not by way of giving Aeneas a key to Latium which functions as does the golden bough, the key to hell. Similarly, though there may be contexts in which Tiber and Styx are somewhat antithetical,[3] the text does not appear to support Putnam's proposal that the Tiber, by comparison to the Styx the river of death, is a river of life. Tiber does not bring "to fruition the process which the draught of Lethe starts, the force of rebirth and regeneration." [4] It is indeed upon his banks that Aeneas is initiated into the new environment of Latium, as Putnam says; but the evidence does not permit us to look upon him as the agent of rebirth as well. On the other hand, as we have noted, Putnam seems justified in outlining the likenesses between the Aeneas-Charon meeting in book 6 and the Tiber journey in book 8.[5] Overall, his treatment of the eighth book illustrates the necessity of neither accepting nor rejecting the "parallel" approach whole, but rather of judging each case on its own merits.

The ideas of Viktor Pöschl have affected this study. Statements of his concerning the *Aeneid* such as that "The whole poem may be viewed as a sequence of moods, a series of changing sensa-

---

(he) is nevertheless basically not on the side of Ennius but on that of the Alexandrian. He does not approach his story . . . as a straight narrative of fact . . . , but as a symbolic depiction of ideal truth in which time and again the audience is made aware that it is only dealing with an *imago verum*, a fiction, and that this fiction can only claim for itself the life which human credulity or sympathy is prepared to bestow . . . (His attitude) is that of Callimachus, in which the possibility is always more than the assertion seems to imply." For the details of N's view see his chapter on Vergil (op. cit., pp. 207-269) and his *The Concept of Vates in Augustan Poetry* (Brussels, 1967: Coll. Latomus, Vol. 89), Ch. II, esp. pp. 34-38.

[1] Putnam, loc. cit., passim; cf. esp. pp. 119f.

[2] Ibid., pp. 119f.

[3] Cf. supra, Chapter V, pp. 98f.

[4] Putnam, op. cit., p. 129.

[5] Cf. supra, p. 113, n. 1.

tions",[1] his comments on rise and fall of intensity in the events of the epic, and his sensitivity to rhythmic patterns are most suggestive to the reader attempting to appreciate the unfolding of *Aen.* 8.1-369.[2] Perhaps the present analysis shows that attitudes such as Pöschl's, lying as they do behind much modern effort to search out recurring Vergilian symbols and images, are applicable also to analyses dealing with the poet's use of nonhomeric literary traditions. The identification and description of the aition-sequence of book 8, which we undertook because of the remarkable likenesses the sequence bears to a Hellenistic instance of poetic expression, has resulted in the perception of a unit which is not only structurally cohesive, but which in addition exhibits a mood that is carefully sustained from beginning to end, that varies in intensity and color, and that betrays a single-tendency pattern culminating in the unutterable peace of Evander's *angustum tectum.*

---

[1] V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil,* tr. G. Seligson (Ann Arbor, 1962), p. 140.
[2] Ibid., p. 165, and passim.

APPENDIX I

THE UNIDENTIFIED DEITY OF CALL. FR. 112.7

To whom is the χαῖρε of Call. Fr. 112.7 addressed? Pfeiffer ad loc. is noncommital. More recently, the opinions of Trypanis and Capovilla have favored the Nymph and the city Cyrene. [1] Several remarks on this latter theory, elaborated several years ago by Coppola,[2] will perhaps be helpful.

1) In replying to Gallavotti's proposal of the Muse Kalliope as the addressee, Coppola points out that if Gallavotti were correct, lines 1 and 5, which refer to "my Muse" and "the Muses" in the third person, would be awkward.[3] (Line 7 and the preceding lines appear to be addressed to the same party.)

2) Gallavotti and Coppola agree that εὐεστοῖ in line 7 has reference to material prosperity; Gallavotti's interpretation of the word more specifically is that "in questo passo, è appunto quel benessere che deriva specialmente dalla richezza."[4] Considering the dramatic uses to which Callimachus has put the Muses so far in the *Aitia*, it seems hardly likely that he should close with a plea for continued material comfort; whereas such an exhortation to the Nymph representing his own city would be much more in character. Coppola's choice of A. *Ag.* 647, χαίρουσαν εὐεστοῖ πόλιν, to illustrate the present use of εὐεστοῖ, appears appropriate.[5]

3) Such an interpretation of line 7 would be congruent with the concern expressed in 8 for ὅλον οἶκον ἀνάκτων, where the plural ἀνάκτων might refer to the household of the Ptolemies or to the rulers of both Cyrene and Egypt. If we knew who the ἀνάσση of line 2 was—it was probably Arsinoe II or Berenike III, daughter

---

[1] Callimachus, *Aetia*, etc., ed. C. A. Trypanis (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), n. ad Fr. 112; G. Capovilla, "Callimachea et Libyca", *Aegyptus* 42 (1962), p. 31.

[2] In "Callimachus Senex", RFIC N.S. 8 (1930), pp. 273-291, and "Poeti e Telchini", SIFC N.S. 10 (1932), pp. 327-338.

[3] Cf. C. Gallavotti, "Il prologo e l'epilogo degli *Aitia*, SIFC N.S. 10 (1932), p. 241, and Coppola, "Poeti e Telchini", pp. 329-330.

[4] Gallavotti, "Epimetron Callimacheo", SIFC N.S. 11 (1934), p. 83; cf. Coppola, "Callimachus Senex", pp. 277-278.

[5] Coppola, loc. cit.

of Magas of Cyrene—, we could say more about the ἄνακτες of line 8. But convincing evidence is not to be had, either on these questions or on the related topic of the date of the Aitia. Here Gallavotti's cautions are justified. [1]

4) Coppola suggests that Cyrene appears at the end of the Aitia because the aition of the poet's own town would most naturally follow those of other places.[2] There is no evidence, however, that the aition of Cyrene is told. An alternate reason for expecting Cyrene at the end of the Aitia has documentation, in AP 7.42. If the epigrammatist is accurate, as for example Trypanis believes, [3] the poet was wafted to Helicon from Libya in his dream; hence concluding with a return to Libya would be quite fitting.

The relevance of this discussion is that if Cyrene is indeed the addressee of line 7, we are presented in Callimachus with a stock hymnic reference to prosperity whose application is in some way patriotic.[4] This observation does not affect our earlier assertions that patriotism or loyalty to the Ptolemies clearly does not dominate the *Aitia*. But it does add meaning to the contrast between the conclusion of the *Aitia* and the end of the aition-sequence at *Aen.* 8.359-369. In the formulae of the former, the poet expresses dependence upon divinities for the prosperity of his native land and his rulers. Vergil's inversion of the Alexandrian's attitude allows a shaft of light to penetrate deep into his own. What the Roman is to seek from the gods is not comfort; it is divinity itself. His relation to his fatherland is such that, far from begging prosperity for it, he must despise wealth to be worthy of the divine destiny to which both he and his fatherland are called. Thus, if we are correct that hymn-formulae are used to increase respect for Aeneas as potentially divine in *Aen.* 8.362ff., it also seems that Vergil chooses to express the Roman paradox of glory in humble circumstances by a manipulation of the prosperity-theme common in hymnic language and conspicuous in Call. Fr. 112.

---

[1] Gallavotti, "Il prologo e l'epilogo degli *Aitia*", p. 240.

[2] Coppola, "Poeti e Telchini", pp. 331f.

[3] Callimachus, *Aetia*, ed. Trypanis (cf. supra p. 118, n. 1), p. 2.

[4] Cf. Capovilla, loc. cit. (supra, p. 118, n. 1), on nationalism and Ptolemaicism in Callimachus.

APPENDIX II

SOME RECENT LITERATURE

Several studies published since the conclusion of the present one in its original form have made special contributions to our understanding of the first half of *Aeneid* 8, and warrant a brief notice.

The most recent, G. Binder's *Aeneas und Augustus,*[1] became available too late for full incorporation of its author's findings. It is a commentary on *Aen.* 8.1-174, 306-368, and 626-731, whose principal aim is to illustrate that Vergil establishes typological relationships between Aeneas (and subsidiarily Saturn, Hercules, Evander, and others) and Augustus. Hence where my investigation has emphasized, as in Ch. IV, the importance of the fixed chronological point in the Augustan present, Binder further specifies and amplifies the same idea by carefully documenting instances in which Augustus himself may be foreshadowed in the characters of *Aen.* 8.1-368. So the first part of the book looks into the past, the shield of the last part into the future; and between them, or more precisely between Saturn and Augustus, stands Aeneas. [2] The fugitive theme,[3] the inclusion of Atlas with Aeneas, Hercules, and Augustus as creatures fated to "ewigen *labor*",[4] the role of Tiber as speaking for the land and giving Latium historical continuity,[5] are among the matters B. takes up. He does not delve into the Hellenistic background of the aition form, as the terms of his work do not require him to; thus his work and my own might best be considered complementary.[6]

Wimmel, in his recent study of *Aeneid* 7,[7] does consider the

---

[1] Meisenheim, 1971.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 84ff.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 61f.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 106-108.

[6] Binder's statement on the function of the aition is worth noting: it is, he says, "ein wesentliches Mittel . . . mit dessen Hilfe er (Vergil) dem Leser die Verbindung des mythischen Bildes mit der Gegenwart erleichtert . . ." (*op. cit.*, p. 4). The whole study is the result, in fact, of the author's interest "die Aeneis auf Beziehung zwischen Mythos und Historie hin zu untersuchen" (op. cit., Vorw.).

[7] W. Wimmel, *Zur Frage von Vergils dichterischer Technik in der Aeneismitte,* (Marburg/Lahn, 1969).

Alexandrian background. The bucolic qualities of Latium and the beginning of the war itself as a small *Hirtenkrieg* which gradually swells are examples of what W. calls *Epenreduktion*;[1] the use of characters, settings, and actions from the pastoral and other Alexandrian non-epic traditions. It is through these instruments, W. suggests, that Vergil has succeeded in revivifying the epic form in the middle books of the *Aeneid* in a way appropriate to his purposes:

> Ort, Land, Sprache und Geschichte boten, wenn man Vergils Vor-Gestaltung in Bucolica und Georgica in Rechnung stellt, hierzu die Substanz. Erst so werden die alexandrinischen Züge im neuen Konzept aufgehoben.[2]

W. offers further instances of Vergil's *Medientechnik*,[3] notably the portrayal of Camilla, shepherdess-figure as well as heir to Penthesilea, at the end of book 7. And he comments briefly on the parallel between Evander's welcome of Aeneas and the Callimachean story of Hekale and Theseus, "das klassischen exemplum der Epenreduktion".[4] In short, W. treats of other evidence for one of the broad ideas behind this study; Vergil's reliance on Alexandrian techniques in recreating epic.

To my own discussion (Ch. I) of Aeneas the silent listener may be added now the observations of W. Heilmann[5] on *Aen.* 8.1-369 as a gradual revelation to Aeneas of his mission and his destiny. At the beginning of the book Aeneas, while knowing that fate is to direct his coming experiences, is uncertain of the details. Tiber in the dream answers only some of his questions, while assuring him that he has come to the place he was meant to reach. The hero's encounter with Evander builds up to the Hercules tale, and the invitation to banquet and rite indicates that Aeneas is to have some active share in the myth. The heavy moral overtones of the myth and the hellish nature of Cacus' lair are, in fact, meant to illustrate to Aeneas the nature and magnitude of his own coming struggle. Later, the impious Cacus will be seen[6]

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 19
2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-21
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 11
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 19
5 "Aeneas und Euander im achten Buch der Aeneis", *Gymnasium* 78 (1971), pp. 76-89.
6 Op. cit., p. 83.

to have his human counterpart among Aeneas' threatening enemies in the person of Mezentius, *contemptor divum.* Aeneas' silence, considered above, is given an added reason: the gradual disclosure is not yet complete at 369, and will not be complete enough for a response until the arrival of Venus with the armor (*ego poscor Olympo,* 8.533).

> Die Äusserung des Aeneas ist aber in dieser Bestimmtheit erst dadurch möglich, dass er die Cacusgeschichte, dann von Mezentius und seiner Verbindung mit Turnus gehört hat. Da erst hat er volle Sicherheit gewonnen in der moralischen Beurteilung seiner Feinden. [1]

Heilmann is fully aware of Aeneas' earlier behavior in the book as "ein 'aktives' Schweigen . . . , dem Arkanum des fatum entsprechend, das von dem Menschen vertrauensvolle und geduldige Bereitschaft verlangt." [2] His eminently sensible evaluation is good, among other reasons, because it helps show how the whole passage 8.1-369 represents dramatic progress in the "plot" of the epic, in addition to its typological and symbolic significance.

---

[1] Op. cit., p. 87. Note Aeneas' further remarks in 8.533ff. about the coming conflict.

[2] *Op. cit.,* p. 88.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Following is a list of the principal works consulted. Periodical abbreviations are those of J. Marouzeau, ed., *L'Année Philologique.*

TEXTS

Callimaque, ed. Émile Cahen, Paris, 1961

Callimachus, ed. Rudolf Pfeiffer, Oxford, 1949-1953, 2v.

Callimachus: Aetia, Iambi, Lyric Poems, etc., ed. C. A. Trypanis, Cambridge, Mass., 1958

Catullus, ed. C. J. Fordyce, Oxford, 1961

P. Ovidius Naso, *Die Fasten*, ed. Franz Bömer, Heidelberg, 1957-1958, 2v.

Sex. Propertius, *The Elegies of Propertius*, ed. H. E. Butler and E. A. Barber, Oxford, 1933

——, *Propertius: Elegies Book IV*, ed. W. A. Camps, Cambridge, Eng., 1965

Servius, *Servii Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen, Leipzig, 1923, 3v.

P. Vergili Maronis Opera, ed. J. Conington, rev. H. Nettleship, 3rd ed., Vol. III, London, 1883

P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri XII, ed. R. Sabbadini and L. Castiglioni, Turin, 1964

CALLIMACHUS: STUDIES

Capovilla, G., "Callimachea et Libyca", *Aegyptus* 42 (1962), 27-97

Coppola, G., "Callimachus Senex", *RFIC* N.S. 8 (1930), 273-291

——, "Poeti e Telchini", *SIFC* N.S. 10 (1932), 327-338

Gallavotti, C., "Il prologo e l'epilogo degli *Aitia*", *SIFC* N.S. 10 (1932), 231-246

——, "Epimetron Callimacheo", *SIFC* N.S. 11 (1934), 81-96

Herter, H., "Bericht über die Literatur zur hellenistischen Dichtung aus den Jahren 1921-1935", *Bursians Jahresbericht*, Bd. 255 (1937), 65-218.

——, art. "Kallimachos", Pauly-Wissowas *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband V

Pfeiffer, R., *Kallimachosstudien*, Munich, 1922

Swiderek, A., "La structure des Aitia de Callimaque à la lumière des nouvelles découvertes papyrologiques", *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 5 (1951), 229-235

Wimmel, W., *Kallimachos in Rom: Die Nachfolge seines apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit* (Hermes Einzelschriften, Bd. 16), Wiesbaden, 1960

STUDIES OF VERGIL AND OF THE AENEID

Bozzi, Lucia, *Ideali e correnti letterarie nell' Eneide*, Milan, 1936

Drew, D. L., *The Allegory of the Aeneid*, Oxford, 1927

Duckworth, G., *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid*, Ann Arbor, 1962

——, "Tripartite Structure in the *Aeneid*", *Vergilius* 7 (1961) 2-11

Heinze, R., *Virgils epische Technik*, Leipzig, 1928

Klingner, Fr., *Virgil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*, Stuttgart, 1967

Knauer, G. N., *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Hypomnemata, Heft 7), Göttingen, 1964
Otis, Brooks, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, Oxford, 1964
Pöschl, Viktor, *The Art of Vergil*, tr. G. Seligson, Ann Arbor, 1962
Putnam, M. C. J., *The Poetry of the Aeneid*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965
Steiner, H., *Der Traum in der Aeneis* (Noctes Romanae, Heft 5), Stuttgart, 1952
Wimmel, W., *Zur Frage von Vergils dichterischer Technik in der Aeneismitte*, Marburg/Lahn, 1969
Worstbrock, F. J., *Elemente einer Poetik der Aeneis. Untersuchungen zum Gattungsstil vergilianischer Epik* (Orbis Antiquus, No. 21), Münster, 1963

AENEID 8

Binder, G., *Aeneas und Augustus: Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, Heft 38), Meisenheim, 1971
Bömer, Fr., "Studien zum VIII Buch der Aeneis", *RhM* 92 (1944), 319-369
Buchheit, V., *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Gymnasium, Beiheft 3), Heidelberg, 1963
Fowler, W. W., *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, Oxford, 1918
Heilmann, W., "Aeneas und Euander im achten Buch der Aeneis", *Gymnasium* 78 (1971), 76-89

HERCULES AND CACUS IN AENEID 8

Bayet, J., *Les origines de l'Hercule romain* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athénes et de Rome, T. 132), Paris, 1926
Conway, R. S., "Poesia ed impero", *Conferenze Virgiliane*, Milan, 1931, pp. 21-36
Galinsky, G. K., "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* 8", *AJPh* 87 (1966), 18-51
Münzer, Fr., *Cacus der Rinderdieb*, Basel, 1911
Schnepf, H., "Das Herculesabenteuer in Virgils Aeneis", *Gymnasium* 66 (1959), 250-268
Toutain, J., "Observations sur le culte d'Hercule à Rome", *REL* 6 (1928), 200-212
Winter, J. G., *The Myth of Hercules at Rome*, N.Y., 1910

OTHER WORKS

Codrignani, G., "L' 'aition' nella poesia greca prima di Callimaco", *Convivium* N.S. 26 (1958), 527-545
Heinze, R., *Ovids Elegische Erzählung*, Leipzig, 1919
Kambylis, A., *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik*, Heidelberg, 1965
Norden, Eduard, *Agnostos Theos*, Leipzig, 1913

INDICES

INDEX NOMINUM

Achilles 3 n. 2
Aeneas passim
Aiglete 58
Aiora 58
Akontios and Kydippe 2 n. 6, 3 n. 2, 60 n. 2, 66, 68, 69, 77 n. 1, 79, 81, 82, 84
Alba 3, 3 n. 1, 9, 16 n. 3, 79, 92
Allecto 94, 95
Amata 94
Amymone, fountain at 77 n. 2
Anaphaian sacrifices 25, 34
Anaphe 25, 58, 59, 106 n. 3
Anchises 21, 23, 41 n. 1, 71, 72, 73, 93, 103 n. 1
Androgeos 29
Apollo 3 n. 2, 25, 30, 31, 33, 34, 39, 49 n. 5, 61, 68, 73 n. 1, 79, 111; Delian statue of, 12 n. 1, 13, 15 n. 1, 75 n. 1
Apollonius Rhodius 2, 135
Ara Maxima 3, 5 n. 1, 9, 24, 27, 36, 41, 49 n. 2, 55, 59
Arcadians 3, 3 n. 2, 5, 73, 80, 92
Arcadian Rome 1, 109
Argiletum 5, 9, 85
Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius 8
Argonauts 25, 26, 34, 106 n. 3
Argos 60, 66, 77 n. 2
Argus 5, 10
Arsinoë 73 n. 1
Arsinoë II 118
Ascanius 92, 95, 107
Asylum 5, 9, 85
Athena 45, 46
Atlas 3 n. 2, 23 121
Augustus 1, 43, 49, 49 n. 2, 78, 85, 120
Ausonia 4
Aventine 5 n. 1

Berenike III 118
Berenice, lock of 12, 15 n. 1, 16, 16 n. 1
Bona Dea 56

Cacus 1, 2, 3, 8, 18, 21, 32, 33, 34, 35, 41, 42, Ch. III passim, 80, 84, 104, 106, 107, 111, 112, 112 n. 5, 114, 115, 121
Caere, grove at 5, 109
Callimachus passim
Calybe 94
Camilla 121
Capitol, holiness of 18, 85, 87
Capitoline hill, reverence for 5
Carmentis 4, 19 n. 1, 31
Carthage 47 n. 1, 93
Charon 98, 99, 104, 116
Corcyra 60
Creusa 16 n. 4
Cyrene 73 n. 1, 91 n. 1, 97, 100, 118, 119
Cyzicus 37

Daedalus 30
Deipnias 33, 68, 111
Delphi 31
Dexithea 84
Diana 102
Dido 46, 47, 47 n. 1
Dindymon, springs of 8 n. 2
Dardanus 3 n. 2
Deiphobus 48 n. 1
Demonax 84

Egypt, stranger traveling in 13
Elysium 71
Eryx 37
Etesian winds 8 n. 2
Euthymus 32
Evander 3 n. 2, Chs. I, II passim, 45, 47, 47 n. 1, 48 n. 1, 58, 59, 60, 61, 68, 71, 73, 80, 81, 83, 84, 87, 88, 92, 94, 97, 100, 101 n. 3, 102, 106, 107, 110, 117, 120, 121

Geryon 53
Graces 2 n. 6, 3 n. 2

Hades 54, 93
Harpies 10

Hekale 121
Helicon 10, 36, 90, 119
Hera 60, 75 n. 1, 77 n. 2, 90
Hercules/Herakles 1, 3, 7, 8, 8 n. 2, Chs. II, III passim, 71, 80, 84, 101, 101 n. 3, 102, 104, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 120
Hesiod 2, 10
Hesperia 21
Hippokrene 91
Hydrussa 83, 84
Hylas 8 n. 2

Icarian Sea 64
Ikos, guest from 16 n, 1, 36 n. 1, 57, 76 n. 1, 90; worship of Peleus at 20
Ilioneus 30, 38
Iopas 46, 47, 96

Janiculum 5, 87
Janus 5, 32 n. 1
Jason 39, 61
Juno 2, 94, 112 n. 4, 114
Jupiter 35, 87, 93

Kalais 10
Kallichoros River 8 n. 2
Kalliope 58, 82, 118
Keos 8 n. 2, 68, 69, 83, 84
Kianoi 8 n. 2
Klio 11, 16 n. 1, 19
Kleite 8, 10
Kokalos 30
Korykian nymphs 83, 84
Krataimenes 11

Latinus 30, 94
Latin War 1, 93
Latium 3, 4, 17, 27, 27 n. 1, 29, 30, 32, 37, 93, 96, 116, 121; holiness of, 14 n. 1, 31, 35, 41, 52, 56, 60, 66, 68, 69, 81, 83, 105, 107, 110
Laurentum 52
Laurentum, nymphs of 22, 92
Lavinia 95
Lavinium 3 n. 1, 16 n. 3
Libya 10, 119
Lindian peasant 31, 34, 42, 62, 106 n. 3
Lindian sacrifices 25, 29
Lupercal 5, 9, 85

Makelo 84
Marathonian bull 111
Megakles 84
Melia 84
Mercury 10, 92
Mezentius 122
Minoa 30
Minos 29, 30, 33, 34
Molorchos 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 42, 65, 67, 68, 68 n. 1, 108 n. 3, 111
Muses 10, 11, 12, 14, 15 n. 1, 16, 17, 20, 29, 36, 42, 49 n. 5, 58, 59, 76, 77, 78, 89, 90, 91, 97, 118

Nemean lion 60, 67, 111
Nestor 45

Orpheus 8
Okeanos 96
Ovid 2

Palinurus 48 n. 1
Pallanteum 2, 3, 9, 21, 27, 35, 47 n. 1, 49, 51, 72, 79, 92, 109
Pallas 3, 40, 73
Pan 5
Parian rites 29, 33
Pelasgi 5
Pelasgian wall 12 n. 1, 15 n. 1, 78
Peleus 20, 36 n. 1, 76 n. 1
Penthesilea 121
Perieres 11
Phineos 10
Phoebus 84
Pierides 89
Pinarii, the 55
Polyphemus 61
Porta Carmentalis 4
Poseidon 46
Potitii, the 55
Propertius 2, 7
Python 31, 34, 111 n. 6

Rome passim
Romulus 5, 45, 85

Samos 75 n. 1
Saturn 4, 5, 19, 26, 27, 27 n. 1, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 42, 56 n. 2, 83, 84, 107, 120
Saturnia 5, 87
Silenus 96

Silvanus 5
Simonides 12 n. 1, 20, 78
Sinon 101 n. 3
Styx 99, 116
Sychaeus 47 n. 1

Telemachus 45, 46
Telchines 82, 84
Temese 31, 35, 60
Tethys 96
Theseus 111, 121
Thiodamas, the Dryopian peasant 25, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 42, 106 n. 3
Thracian Zone 8
Thybris 4
Tiber 3 n. 1, 3 n. 2, 4, 5 n. 1, 6 n. 2, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 35, 39, 40, 65 n. 1, 71, 72, 78, 81, 83, 87, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 102, 103 n. 1, 104, 106, 108, 110, 116
Trojans 9
Troy 3 n. 2, 47, 92
Turnus 2, 94, 95, 112 n. 5, 114

Venus 94, 109, 122
Vulcan 51, 54, 61, 94, 109

Xenomedes of Keos 6 n. 1, 68, 82, 83, 84

Zankle, founders of 11
Zetes 10
Zeus 67, 84, 97, 100

INDEX LOCORUM

Anthologia Palatina
7:42; 8, 89, 91, 119

Apollonius, *Argonautica*
1:28; 8
1:1063ff; 8
1:1067-69; 10
1:1146-49; 8 n. 2
1:1212; 28 n. 2
1:1348ff; 8 n. 2
2:901ff; 8 n. 2
2:256ff; 10

Ausonius
Mos. 22; 22 n. 1

Callimachus, *Aitia*
Fr. 1.22f; 49 n. 5
Fr. 1.45-56; 73 n. 1
Fr. 2; 89, 90, 91, 95, 97
Fr. 2 (Sch.); 10 n. 1
Fr. 3; 11 n. 1, 12, 75, 90
Frs. 3-7; 2 n. 6, 29 n. 2
Fr. 7; 106 n. 3
Fr. 7.14ff; 75
Fr. 7.19ff; 90
Fr. 7.19-21; 12, 25, 58, 75
Fr. 7.19-23ff; 19
Fr. 7.23ff; 20, 25, 58
Fr. 7.24; 66
Fr. 7.25-26; 76
Fr. 9; 60
Fr. 11; 60
Fr. 12.4; 60 n. 1
Fr. 12.6; 64
Fr. 15; 60 n. 1
Fr. 18.5ff; 39
Fr. 18.6-8; 61
Fr. 22; 31
Frs. 22-23; 25 n. 1
Frs. 22-25; 2 n. 6, 32
Fr. 23; 62, 63, 75, 106 n. 3, 108 n. 1
Fr. 23.1-7; 64
Fr. 23.2; 76
Fr. 23.19-20; 66, 100 n. 2
Fr. 24; 39, 42, 64, 75, 106 n. 3
Fr. 24.1-2; 76
Fr. 24.1-4; 28
Fr. 24.3; 64
Fr. 24.4-7; 31
Fr. 24.8-12; 28
Frs. 24-25; 25 n. 1
Fr. 27; 78
Fr. 31b; 11, 11 n. 1, 12, 75
Fr. 34.5-8; 102
Fr. 34.7; 102 n. 2
Fr. 43; 11, 12, 14, 15 n. 1, 16 n. 1, 79, 106 n. 3
Fr. 43.12-17; 90 n. 3
Fr. 43.46ff; 14 n. 2
Fr. 43.48-49; 2 n. 6, 30 n. 1
Fr. 43.56; 90
Fr. 43.56-57; 19

Fr. 43.56-58; 11, 16 n. 1
Fr. 43.58ff; 2 n. 6, 20, 76
Fr. 43.78-80; 64, 76, 85
Fr. 43.81; 100 n. 2
Fr. 43.84-87; 11, 58
Fr. 43.86-87; 75
Fr. 54; 108 n. 3
Fr. 54.31; 33 n. 2
Fr. 55; 60
Fr. 57; 33
Fr. 57.3; 68
Fr. 59; 64
Fr. 59.14-20; 67
Fr. 59.18; 68
Fr. 59.21; 65, 85
Fr. 63.9-10; 64, 76
Fr. 64; 12 n. 1, 20, 78
Fr. 65; 13 n. 1
Fr. 66; 13 n. 1
Fr. 66.2-6; 77
Fr. 66.7-9; 66
Fr. 66.8; 100 n. 2
Fr. 66.19-20; 18 n. 2
Fr. 66.25-26; 18 n. 2
Fr. 67.5-8; 6 n. 1
Frs. 67-75; 2 n. 6, 3 n. 2
Fr. 75.22ff; 79
Fr. 75.22-37; 3 n. 2
Fr. 75.28-31; 77
Fr. 75.43-44; 82
Fr. 75.44ff; 77 n. 1
Fr. 75.44-49; 13 n. 1, 65
Fr. 75.50-52; 65, 80 n. 1, 81, 82
Fr. 75.50-77; following 82
Fr. 75.51-52; 76, 79
Fr. 75.53ff; 6 n. 1
Fr. 75.56ff; 83, 83 n. 1
Fr. 75.60; 82 n. 1
Fr. 75.64-69; 84
Fr. 75.65; 82
Fr. 75.70ff; 84
Fr. 76; 11, 11 n. 1, 12
Fr. 80.10-11; 13 n. 1
Fr. 85.3ff; 13 n. 1
Fr. 86.24-25; 111 n. 5
Frs. 86-87; 11, 11 n. 1, 12, 31 n. 1
Frs. 86-89; 111 n. 4
Fr. 87; 33, 34, 68
Fr. 97; 2 n. 6, 12 n. 1, 15 n. 1, 78
Fr. 98; 32, 35, 60 n. 1
Frs. 98-99; 31 n. 1
Fr. 100; 2 n. 6, 13 n. 1, 90
Fr. 100.1-2; 78
Fr. 101; 2 n. 6
Fr. 102; 13 n. 1
Fr. 103; 13 n. 1
Fr. 110; 12 n. 1, 15 n. 1, 16 n. 1, 18, 20, 60 n. 2
Fr. 112; 89, 91, 95, 97 n. 1
Fr. 112.1-9; 100
Fr. 112.7; 118, 119
Fr. 112.7-8; 100
Fr. 112.7-9; 67
Fr. 112.9; 97
Fr. 114; 12 n. 1, 13, 75
Fr. 177; 62, 62 n. 1
Fr. 177.11-17; 62
Fr. 177.12-13; 63
Fr. 177.15ff; 63 n. 2
Fr. 178; 13, 16 n. 2, 36 n. 1, 75, 90
Fr. 178.1-10; 57
Fr. 178.13; 57
Fr. 178.15-16; 57
Fr. 178.15-22; 21
Fr. 178.23-25; 57, 58
Fr. 178.31-33; 20
Fr. 179; 62
Fr. 184; 76
Fr. 190; 7 n. 1
Fr. 230; 111 n. 3
Fr. 231; 111 n. 3
Frs. 239-246; 111 n. 2
Frs. 256-57; 111 n. 3
Hekale
111; 111 n. 3
Hymni
1.91, 94; 100 n. 2
2.113; 100 n. 2
3.47, 50, 56-57, 68, 75; 7 n. 2
3.268; 100 n. 2
4.325; 100 n. 2
5.140, 141; 100 n. 2
6.134; 100 n. 2

Cassius Hemina; 54 n. 2

Diodorus Siculus
1:39; 50 n. 1
4:21; 44 n. 3, 53 n. 1
4:21.3; 45 n. 2

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.*
1.39ff; 44 n. 3

1.39.1ff; 51 n. 3
1.39.1; 53 n. 2
1.39.2; 53 n. 5
1.39.3; 53 n. 7
1.39.4; 54 n. 3
1.40; 49 n. 1

Hesiod, *Theogony*; 90-96
Works and Days; 95, 96

Homer, *Iliad*
1.37f; 102 n. 2
2.25; 77 n. 2
20.213ff; 3 n. 2
Odyssey
3.43-44; 45
3.48; 46
11.23; 55 n. 1

Homeric Hymn to Hermes
75; 63 n. 1

Horace, *Satires*
2.3.288; 102 n. 2

Livy
1.7; 44 n. 3
1.7.3; 44 n. 4, 49 n. 3
1.7.3-4; 45
1.7.5; 53 n. 5
1.7.8; 56 n. 4

Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*; 90, 95

Macrobius, *Sat.*
1.12.28; 56 n. 1

Or. Gent. Rom.
6; 49 n. 1, 54
6.2; 53 n. 5, 54 n. 2
6.7; 56 n. 4
6-8; 44 n. 2
7.1; 54 n. 2
7.2; 53 n. 5

Ovid, *Fasti*
1.458; 53 n. 7
1.462ff; 30, 30 n. 2, 32 n. 2
1.543; 53 n. 2
1.555; 50 n. 2
1.557-558; 50 n. 2
1.560-562; 54 n. 3
1.580ff; 56 n. 4

Metamorphoses
1.689ff; 10

Propertius
4.1; 7
4.1.64; 44 n. 2
4.1a.61-70; 6, 6 n. 2
4.1a.87-88; 6 n. 2
4.9; 7, 44 n. 3, 49 n. 4
4.9.2; 53 n. 2
4.9.14-15; 54 n. 3
4.9.16-18; 49 n. 4
4.9.51ff; 56
4.9.69; 56 n. 1

PSI 1219; 10 n. 1, 90 n. 2

Servius
44 n. 3
ad *Aen.* 8.190; 50 n. 4

Sophocles, *Ant.*
781f; 102 n. 2

Statius, *Thebaid*
4.160 (schol.); 33 n. 2

Strabo
5.3; 44 n. 3
5.3.3; 45 n. 2

Virgil, *Aen.*
Book 1
1-2; 6 n. 2
4; 6 n. 2
74ff; 96
530; 59 n. 2
723-724; 46, 47
748; 46, 47, 47 n. 1
Book 2
65f; 3 n. 2
80; 101 n. 3
107; 101 n. 3
289; 103 n. 1
775; 16 n. 4, 94 n. 1
782; 72
Book 3
147-178; 22
153; 16 n. 4, 94 n. 1
154-155; 103 n. 1
172-175; 22
175; 94 n. 1
178; 22

335; 5
388; 72
617-619; 61 n. 4
Book 4
338; 101 n. 3
560; 103 n. 1
573-576; 93
576ff; 92
602; 3 n. 2
624ff; 5
Book 5
117; 5
121; 5
122-123; 5
568; 5
602; 5
718; 5
721ff; 93
724ff; 71
724-725; 103 n. 1
737; 72
741-742; 93
742f; 103 n. 1
Book 6
122f; 112 n. 4, 114
135; 99
347ff; 48 n. 1
384-391; 98
390; 99
395; 112 n. 4, 114
509ff; 48 n. 1
847-853; 3 n. 2
Book 7
1ff; 5
49f; 27 n. 1
202-204; 27 n. 1
217-218; 30
228-230; 38
341ff; 94
406ff; 94
421-434; 94
436-444; 94
438; 101 n. 3
445-457; 94
458; 94
460-474; 95
475; 94, 95
778; 7 n. 1
Book 8
1-17; 92
1-101; 106
1-174; 120
1-369; 7, 12, 13, 15, 16 n. 3, 17, 20, 26, 37, 52, 66, 72, 78, 86, 87, 89, 96, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 117, 120, 122
1-731; 74
5-7; 37
9-92; 22
10-12; 38
17-24; 97
18-25; 21 n. 2, 39, 97
18-26; 71, 72
26; 19, 21, 71, 98
26-27; 13, 107
26-35; 97
26-67; 91
26-183; 72
26-369; 91, 110
28; 97
29-35; 40
30; 93 n. 1
32; 16
35; 16, 16 n. 4, 72, 94 n. 1
35-369; 40, 41
36; 102
36-37; 6 n. 2, 94, 102
36-38; 17 n. 2, 20, 72, 83
36-65; 92
39-41; 72
40-48; 16 n. 3
42-48; 3, 93
42-88; 72
49-62a; 72
51ff; 3 n. 2
51-54; 2, 3, 27, 79
56; 73
59; 102
59-61a; 73
61-62; 94
62ff; 17 n. 1, 18 n. 1
62-65; 72
67; 92
68-69; 92
68-70; 22
68-78; 13, 93
73; 92
74-75; 101 n. 2
74-77; 92
76; 5 n. 1 65 n. 1
78; 92, 101, 101 n. 2
81; 22, 93
83; 93 n. 1
84-85; 22
86; 48 n. 1
86ff; 93

86-89; 21
86-93; 99
86-101; 21
90; 22 n. 1
91-92; 24
91-93; 21, 22 n. 1
97-100; 9
97-101; 93
99; 6 n. 2
101; 22
101ff; 93
102-104; 45
102-106; 3
102-183; 106
102-368; 109
106-171; 73
107ff; 21
107-174; 43 n. 3
109-110; 21
110-114; 73
117-120; 13
126; 23
126-151; 22
126-174; 23
127-133; 3 n. 2
127-151; 13, 73
129ff; 48 n. 1
131-133; 94
134-141; 80
134-142; 3, 3 n. 2, 73
140; 3 n. 2
142; 80
143ff; 80
152-174; 22
153; 41 n. 1
154-155; 22, 23
154-168; 73
161; 24
169; 23
169-171; 73
172; 94
172-174; 47 n. 1
172-305; 3
175ff; 13
175-305; 68
179; 23
181-489; 44ff
182-183; 23
184; 36, 46, 72, 73, 80, 80 n. 4, 110
184-305; 106, 112
184-369; 71, 73, 87
185ff; 70
185-186; 47
185-188; 21
185-189; 27
185-190; 18
186; 45
189; 5 n. 1, 59
190; 50 n. 4
190-192; 18, 114 n. 3
190-199; 49, 50, 51, 52, 58
193; 50 n. 2, 61
198; 60
200-204; 53, 61
201; 45, 48 n. 1
202; 30
203; 45, 48 n. 1
205-206; 62 n. 2
205-212; 53
205-267; 62
206; 62
213; 62
213-218; 53
215; 52
215-218; 62
216; 52
216-219; 46
219ff; 62
219-221; 30
219-246; 54
219-267; 63
222-223; 18
223; 114
233; 59 n. 2
233f; 114 n. 3
235; 5 n. 1
247-261; 54
256-257; 114 n. 3
262-267; 18, 55
268ff; 70
268-305; 55
268; 52, 64, 65, following 82
271; 55 n. 2
271-272; 5 n. 1, 65, 68, 82 n. 1
283-302; following 82
293; 67
293ff; 70
293-302; 101
294; 67
296; 55 n. 1, 67
301; 66
302; 101
305; 52
306-368; 120
306-369; 106

309; 47
310; 69
310-312; 24
310-313; following 82
312; 24 n. 1
314; 69, following 82
314-336; 81, 82, 83, 87
315; 33, 33 n. 1
319; 83
319-320; 30, 32 n. 1, following 82
319-323; 26
321; 33
321-325; 30 n. 3
322-323; following 82
322f; 4
325; 83
325-326; 56 n. 2
326; 69, 83
326-327; following 82
327; 83
328; 4, 83
329; following 82
330; 83
330-332; 4, following 82
333; 31
333-336; 27, 29, following 82, 84
334; 32
335-336; following 82
336-365; 67
337; 84, 85
337-339; 85
337-341; 4
337-350; 24 n. 2, 80 n. 2, 87, 110
340-341; 19 n. 1, 92
342-345f; 5
347-354; 5
348-350; 85
351-354; 18
351-369; 87
355-358; 5
358; 87
359-368; 24
359-369; 119
362-363; 27, 34, 56
362-365; 47 n. 1, 52, 68, 100, 112 n. 4, 114
362-366; 48 n. 1
362-369; 101
364-365; 24
366-369; 13, 97
369; 19, 87, 88, 94, 98
370; 94
370-454; 110 n. 1
416; 7 n. 2
417; 7 n. 2
418; 6 n. 5
419; 7 n. 2
425; 7 n. 2
427-428; 7 n. 2
433-434; 7 n. 2
454-596; 109
454-731; 188
533; 122
597; 59 n. 2
597-602; 5
597-731; 71, 109, 110, 110 n. 1
608-612; 114 n. 3
626-731; 120
Book 9
32; 52 n. 2
Book 10
464-465; 70 n. 1
Book 11
364; 101 n. 3
407; 101 n. 3
856; 102 n. 1
785ff; 102 n. 2
Book 12
194; 3 n. 1
684-91; 114 n. 3
733; 114
896; 114 n. 3
Eclogues
6; 96
6.1-8; 106 n. 2
Georgics
2.45; 101 n. 3
3.71; 102 n. 1